

HALGAN

(THE STRUGGLE)

Organ of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party



HALGAN'S FIRST ANNIVERSARY

- evaluation of the 21st october revolution
- colonization and resistance-historical notes on western somali
- the cultural unity of the somali people

Struggle to
learn, in order to
learn to
struggle better

HAILGAIN

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CENTRAL COMMITTEE
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HALGAN

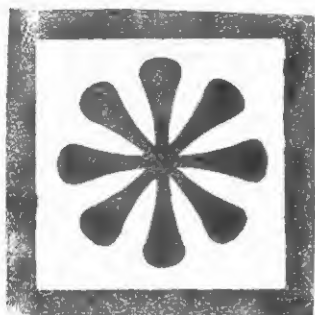
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EDITORIAL NOTES

The eight anniversary of the Somali Revolution

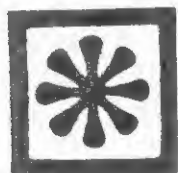
October 21st 1977 marks the eight anniversary of the popular Revolution in Somalia in 1969. The Somali Revolution is basically directed towards improving the standards of the life of the Somali masses. Accordingly, the socio-economic accomplishments of the Revolution are extremely important. This issue of HALGAN devoted a special article reviewing such accomplishments and the tasks yet to be done.

Among the most important socio-political achievements of the past years are those connected with the formal establishment of Somali social organisations. The SRSP programme emphasises that: «Without the collaboration of the masses, the Party alone cannot build the new society..... The extent of its power is directly related to the extent it is tied to the masses.» During the General Report submitted to the 3rd Session of the CC of the SRSP, the Secretary General pointed out: «The Party should be linked to the masses through mobilizing and organizing them. Therefore our Party should pay considerable attention to the task of improving the structures and functions of our social organizations.»

Accordingly during the first half of the 1977, significant steps were taken aimed at reorganisations. A founding congress was held early in March which led to the establishment of the Somali Women Democratic Organisation (SWDO) by March 8, 1977. The General Confederation of the Somali Trade Unions (GCSTU) emerged on May 1st following a congress held late in April. On May 15th 1977, we witnessed the birth of the Somali Revolution Youth Union (SRYU). The tasks of consolidating these organisations at the regional, district and basic unit levels has been proceeding smoothly ever since their establishment.

As we mark the eighth anniversary of our Revolution, the Somali masses are more united and better organised than ever before. This is as it should be given that the Somali Nation is today facing a great historical test. Following the victories of the Somali Liberation Fronts waging armed struggle in the former Ethiopian Empire, the current Addis Ababa regime is bent on internationalising the local conflicts. It has obtained huge quantities of arms and has issued threats against the very existence of the Somali Democratic Republic itself.

The Somali people bear no ill will against the suffering and destitute masses in Ethiopia. The SDR simply supports the struggles of the colonized people in Ethiopia. Should this just expression of solidarity give the Addis regime cause for expanded acts of aggression against the SDR? Our revolution has expressed its confidence on this solemn anniversary occasion, that the Somali people will defend their country, independence and Revolution. This is a time for revolutionary vigilance and the consolidation of our party and its mass organisations gives us reason for optimism. In spite of current difficulties our Revolution will continue to consolidate itself and achieve its long range objectives of edifying a society founded on social justice and peace.



HALGAN'S FIRST ANNIVERSARY

October, 1977 marks the first anniversary of HALGAN, the official journal of the SRSP, thus coinciding with the 8th anniversary of the 21st October Revolution.

HALGAN as scheduled appears in Somali and English monthly and in Arabic tri-monthly; striving to present the policies and directives of the SRSP.

HALGAN'S issues of the past year is an indication of its pioneer role in promoting the standards attained by the previous Somali journals although shortcomings with regards to required staff, the possibilities of our printing House, and distribution for widespread circulation posed persistent problems.

The main function of HALGAN is to provide guiding materials that lead to the achievement of such objectives as:

- Presenting the stand of the SRSP in respect to internal and international issues.
- Establishing actual contact among all party branches and cells.
- Inspiring the Somali masses to their revolutionary duties of nation building and struggle against world imperialism.
- Promoting the militant solidarity of the Somali masses with the liberation movements struggling for freedom progress and peace.

- Encouraging the development of progressive Somali culture and traditions.
- Analysing critically and responsibly all forms of mis-management and deviations retarding the fulfillment of the planned party policies and targets so as to benefit from the mistakes rectify them once committed and avoid them in future.
- Establishing closer contacts, and communications with other internal progressive news papers.

HALGAN gives priority to the presentation of the SRSP's policies. All HALGAN issues contain a section «Party Life». In addition certain issues of HALGAN were specifically directed to party affairs. Accordingly, the February 1977 issue carries extensive coverage on the proceeding of the Third Ordinary Session of the CC of the SRSP.

During that important session the Secretary-General of the CC of the SRSP, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, delivered an important Report in which he states:

«To carry our Party tasks effectively, it is inevitable to utilise the Mass Media i.e., Radio, Newspapers etc., it is necessary to hold serious party study sessions, seminars, courses etc. All these tasks call for research and publication of revolutionary books and pamphlets to be utilised all over the country».

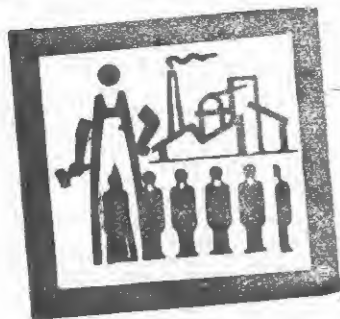
In line with the speech of Jaalle Siyad, HALGAN strives to prove itself useful for all seminars and discussion groups conducted by the party and the social organisations. Some of its articles prove especially useful for the crucial task of training cadres in Party schools.

As it enters it's second year, HALGAN promises to strive even hard to fulfill the trust and responsibilities given to it by the Secretary General.

HALGAN welcomes contributions from all writers of articles and other items on matters pertaining to revolutionary transformation in Somalia and internationally.

HALGAN continues to proudly proclaim its intention to defend the right of the Somali masses: workers, peasants, nomads, armed forces, progressive intellectuals and inspires them to their revolutionary duties. On the other hand HALGAN exerts its struggle against all deviations from Somalia's Revolutionary progressive oriented endeavour for development.

HALGAN proudly supports the struggles of the Western Somali freedom fighters in their just war for independence.



Political, Social and Economic Affaris

Reflections on eight years of revolutionary struggle

By: M. Y. WEYRAH — MEMBER OF THE C.C. OF SRSP

This article is an attempt to make an appraisal of the achievements and the shortfalls experienced during the past seven years of our Revolutionary Struggle. However, before making any through analysis of the achievements attained and the shortfalls, one has to make a quick review of the circumstances which led our armed forces to intervene in the political situation prevailing in the country at that particular time. It is also equally important to have a proper idea of what was going on the international political scene. Needless to say, many African countries attained their political independence in the sixties. However the political independence was not complete in the true sense of the word, since in this period the colonial metropolises substituted their direct colonial rule with indirect neo-colonial manipulations.

It deserves some explanation to understand why and how different interpretations or distorted impressions have been given to the Revolution of 21-10-69 by some intellectuals and foreign press. The Revolution has taken place in a period of turmoil and change of governments in African spearheaded by direct military intervention in politics. Between 1963 to 1969 twenty five Coup D'états have taken place in our continent. However, in many cases the politico-economic

and social revolutions needs remained unsatisfied.

REACTIONARY OFFENSIVE IN LARGE SCALE

During the decade 1960-1970

the continent has been completely put under serious pressure by the neo-colonial powers, exploitation assumed new unprecedented dimensions, the gap between urban



Industrialization is the key for rapid development

and rural areas widened, neo-colonial culture deepened its roots, mass starvation and improvenishment reached unbearable proportions and the freedom for which the masses fought for decades was put at the mercy of the imperialist countries.

At the international level reactionary forces and imperialists were very active in this period. To mention only a few, many progressive governments in Asia have been overthrown by reactionary military cliques.

In Africa the progressive regime of Ghana had the same fate. Israel in collaboration with its allies made a wanton aggression against Egypt, Syria and Jordan. This attempt was directed to intimidate President Nasser in the hope that he would abandon once and for all his anti-imperialistic stand.

In Latin America, the «Che» guerilla movement was overwhelmed although they fought heroically. Similarly some reactionary Coup d'états have also taken place in that Continent. In Europe a fascist regime gained a victory over parliamentary government and monarchy in Greece. The USA gave a new momentum to the escalation of the war in Vietnam.

In all these events the imperialists and reactionary armed forces were the principal actors and of course the beneficiaries. All shady reasons have been given by bourgeois observers in order to explain the causes of the succession of coups which have taken place in Africa in recent years.

BOURGEOIS FALSIFICATION OF THE ROLE OF THE ARMY

Bourgeois intellectuals and mass media have taken advantage of the experience of the above decade and have distortedly presented the ro-

le and the nature of the all armed forces. They have convinced innocent people, potentially revolutionary intellectuals and patriots that by its nature the army in the underdeveloped countries is reactionary.

For the foresighted people however this has only one logical conclusion and that is all the underdeveloped countries do not need any sort of defence, because of the status-quo, which means exploitation, misery, disease and hunger. That is to say the multinational companies and the comparadores peacefully continue their exploitation. This expresses that the State is classless and that the exploited and the exploiters should live in harmony under the imperialists umbrella. But V.I. Lenin teaches us rightly that, «The State is the product and a manifestation of the irreconcilability of class antagonism. The State arises where, when and in so far as class antagonism objectively cannot be reconciled. And, conversely, the existence of state proves that the class antagonism are irraconsilable — the State and Revolution».

To answer the bourgeois propaganda on the armies of the developing country we can say only that army is not an isolated group from the rest of the society. They share with the rest of the people the wealth, the difficulties, the honour, the success and the failure in their country. It is therefore stupid to consider them in «toto» as reactionaries and servants of the imperialists. Of course no body denies that an army formed under reactionary governments all the classes of the society are present.

THE TASKS OF 21 OCT. REVOLUTION

In light of this circumstances a revolution led by the army has ta-

ken place in Somalia on 21-10-69 and while putting a side its proclamations many people believed that it was one of the many military take over in Africa. No body expected that in an era of reactionary forces victories in a poor country like Somalia the imperialists and reactionary forces could be so easily defeated. Derogatory statements about our revolution were given by infantile revolutionaries and by traditionalists of every category.

Today after eight years of Revolutionary struggle our friends and foes understand well where we stand and for what we are struggling. We will not insist but can modestly say that our revolution is the first serious set back of the imperialistic offensive in this continent. After seventy, as the progressive forces were gaining victory and the peace loving people, all over the world, are mobilized to defend these achievements and we consider ourself part and parcel of them.

— II —

From its inception the revolutionary government has taken appropriate measures to consolidate the revolution and to speed the process of socio-economic transformation of the country. This was not an easy task. Somalia has been kept by the imperialists at a very lower stage of development. This policy was agreed by the colonial powers with vested interests in this part of Africa because of the peculiarity of the Somalia nation which is by its homogeneity a potential threat to their interests. The former SRC has succeeded in implementing totally the the First Charter of the Revolution which establishes:



The establishment for Cooperatives is the basis for increasing food production

A. INTERNAL POLICY

1. To constitute a society based on the right of work and the principle of social justice considering the environments and social life of the Somali people.
2. To prepare and orientate the development of economic, social and cultural programme to reach a rapid progress of the country;
3. Liquidation of illiteracy and to develop an enlightened patrimonial and cultural heritage of the Somali people;
4. To constitute, with appropriate and adequate measures the basic development of the writing Somali language;
5. Liquidation of all kinds of corruption, all forms of anarchy, the malicious system of tribalism in every form and other phenomena of bad customs in state activities;
6. To abolish all political parties, and
7. To conduct at appropriate time free and impartial election.

B. EXTERNAL POLICY

1. Support for international solidarity and national liberation;
2. Oppose and fight all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism;
3. To struggle to maintain the Somali National Unity;
4. To recognise strongly the principle of peaceful coexistence between all people;
5. To continue and preserve the policy of positive neutrality and
6. To respect and recognise all legal international commitments undertaken by the Somali Republic.

The Charter is an important document which for the historians offers the possibility of examining and interpreting what happened in the day before the progressive army, supported by the masses, has in the name of the people took over the responsibility of the country.

The SRC has within one day come out with a programme which

cover all areas of interest to the Somali people. Few governments all over the world could prepare in few hours of uncertain stability a clear programme to be realised in the next few years.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SOMALI NATIONAL ARMY.

Up-to now we do not possess any specific documents on particular subject explaining the political evaluation of our army nor any detailed analysis of the struggle between its Higher ranks. But one thing is clear: that the revolution of 21st October 1969 was not decided in one day, one month or one year. It is the result of a long preparation under difficult circumstances influenced by the class struggle in the country and morally encouraged by the need of the masses for a progressive change before the nation collapses. The Somali army grew in a different situation of those of many countries. It was not formed under the colonial coercive apparatus. It was not headed by colonial stooge, but by people who participated in the liberation movement and after its inception it did not have any link whatsoever with the former neo-colonial powers.

Our army advanced in its formation on a different road. Its commander Jaalle Siyaad kept it away from the corruption prevailing in the country during the sixties. The army was secretly and constantly given political indoctrination and awareness of the country's situation. This, made furious to their reactionary government who started interfering in its organisation and adopted certain restrictive measures in its activity as well as a continued sabotages, in its normal growth and manifested denial.

gration of its chief. It was quite understandable that the reactionary governments took this action because they were under systematic pressure of their master who wanted an army of dogs, oriented toward western norms and ideals. Jaalle Siyaad stated in 1965 in an interview to the Italian Journal L'UNITA that «the rank and file of our army are from the peasants and its principle duty is to defend the interests of the masses, against whoever».

The reactionary Government and its colonial allies were furious about the nature of the cooperation and technical assistance the army was receiving from the USSR, the first socialist country. The character of its leadership and the nature of its education our army is an army of a new type, vanguard of the masses' cause and, in the light of these facts the 21 October 1969 must be seen.

ALONG THE PATH OF INDEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT

The struggle started after 21 October 1969 and its main objective was the implementation of the first charter of the revolution. Since the revolution has taken place in the interest of the masses, they should be the subject and not the object of their future; that is to say the masses should realize directly the contents of the first charter. The charter puts its emphasis on the right of work, the development of culture, the liquidation of illiteracy and the creation of the necessary condition on which to build a new society based on justice, and freedom as well as other directives intended to put the country in its proper place in the in-

ternational community. The slogan adopted immediately after the revolution was «defeat the colonialism and liquidate the neo-colonialism». This well elaborate slogan expresses the will of the people to eradicate the evils which conditioned and paralyzed all our institutions.

Somalia, like every other country in Africa attained its independence without breaking the colonial links and the heritage of colonial institutions, thus making the whole independence a mere «farce». Immediately the day after independence the colonial rulers became advisers and experts in the State apparatus granting in their new positions the continuity of the colonial rule in a new form and in a new order. The relation between the metropolises and the newly independent countries remained unchanged and in most cases the dependence increased. Books, articles and statistical figures have remarkably shown throughout the years this state of affairs. Militants and scholars, political parties and specialized institutions have dedicated considerable time to attract to the attention of the international public opinion this new trend of the monopolies, exploitation which is commonly known as neo-colonialism.

This new stage of exploitation in the newly emerged countries could not stand on its own feet if not supported by colonial superstructure within the establishment of these countries. Colonialists have since their domination established and constantly revitalized a multi-system of hierarchy on which they based their power; these are: Tribalism, Factionalism, assimilation, racism and fatalism.

THE LIQUIDATION OF BACKWARDNESS AND ITS INSTITUTIONS

All these institutions and attitudes were dependent financially, culturally and politically by the colonial powers. The evolution of these institutions passed through stages and has been adopted to the requirements of the colonial powers in order to adequately counterbalance the liberation movements which started their activity during the Second World War.

Tribalism which remained basically unchanged in nature, in most cases, took the form of political parties. Factionalism has been transformed into powerful religious associations. Racism has developed to economic and cultural domination, etc. They continued to serve the colonialists.

Therefore the Revolution has adopted different measures to eradicate tribalism, exploitation, illiteracy and establish new conditions allowing to the masses to acquire the necessary political consciousness, to organize themselves, to understand the magnitude of their problems and to lay down the basic strategy to challenge and liquidate neo-colonialism. By the latter we mean the new method by which the imperialists have established and perpetuated the exploitation and by which they take the advantage of the economic and cultural «backwardness» of developing countries. By «liquidate neo-colonialism» we mean also the constitution of the factors which constitute its core. Some of these factors are social, others economical; and partly concern the production and partly the consumption pattern. Some of them are internal and others are external.

To face adequately all these problems the revolution has mobilized

all the national resources both material and human and restructured the country's administration in such a way to accommodate the reality. Parallely considerable number of campaigns were organized such as the one against tribalism, for encouragement of work, for the increase of production, against illiteracy etc. During the years 69-76 several important measures were taken such as the nationalisation of banks, industries and insurance companies in 1970, the nationalisation of the import of vital goods and the trade of the cereals in 1971, the adoption of the Somali as the official language of the country in 1972, the decentralization of country's administration in 1973, the membership in the Arab League in 1974, the resettlement of drought stricken nomads in the coastal and agricultural areas in 1975, the total nationalization of the import trade in 1976 and finally the foundation of SRSP in July of the same year. Since 1969, two development plans were launched: 1971-1973 and 1974-1978. The first was mainly concerned with the restructuring of the economy revitalization of many branches of the public sector which by the consequences of mismanagement of the previous government were either closed or about to be closed. The Second Plan which is actually under implementation emphasises the establishment of several important economic and social projects. To mobilize the human resources of the country and to increase their political consciousness many other programmes were launched such as Iskaa Wax U Qabsa, the Crash Programme, the establishment of cooperatives, and the political office at the national level.



Through Self-help schemes we achieved progress.

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM: IDEOLOGY FOR PROGRESSIVE CHANGE

The above mentioned measures are all in line with the first charter as well as with the second charters of the revolution which adequates the first to the reality of socio-economic transformation of the country by proclaiming the adoption of «Scientific Socialism» as the ideology of the revolution. **They** (the measures) reflect the concretization of the «slogan» which has been coherently followed since the inception of the revolution. All this measures were instrumental in changing the economy and making it less sensitive to the influences of the world market and in accelerating the internal rate of accumulation. Whereas the situation that

prevailed in the period 1960-1969 was characterized by an external economic relation based on exploitation. Jaalle Siyaad has objectively described this situation in his speech of 7 May 1970 by saying.

«In our country, International colonialists and internal forces, have through the decade continued to maintain in it an economic structure extremely underdeveloped. The only dynamic sector is the foreign trade although it has further contributed to the deterioration of our situation due to the worsening of the terms of trade. This sector is in the hand of foreigners who's interest can not be reconciled with those of the nation. No foreign company or individuals intend to invest in other sectors the profit realized in the

trade. They took advantage of the foreign investment law to remit their respective country the realized profits. This law, originally made to attract foreign investment in the country for our benefit and of course for those of the investors, has been transformed into an efficient instrument of smuggling».

The final goal which constitutes the base for all the subsequent economic — political measures taken during 70-76 is the irrevocable elimination of foreign dependence. This does not mean the pursuance of an autarchic policy but on the contrary to take advantage of the international favourable situation in terms of aid, and technological transfer. It is however necessary to underline that our firmly and democratically chosen policy is based on the assumption that the only possibility of establishing the hegemony of the working people on all the political life of the country is to gain full control on the means of production.

We can say without committing mistakes that the aim of these measures is not only to satisfy the exigency of breaking the links of dependence of our economy on foreign domination but also the necessity of avoiding the emergence of a gap between social development and economic development.

In all measures so far taken by the former SRC the human element was given the outmost consideration.

Over 15 measures were taken for the betterment of the working condition and five for increasing the role of workers in the state machinery. If we consider the rural development campaign and others we can surely state

that the SRC in compliance with the first and second charter performed its duty to transform the forgotten nomads of the rural areas into active member of the society. Today no one has any doubt about the level of consciousness of the masses and the extensive presence of the state in all places of the country from the big cities to the remote villages.

THE RESETTLEMENT OF THE NOMADIC POPULATION

In line with our chosen policy attempts were made to centrally plan the economy and to identify the potentiality of the country. One of the most difficult problems in this respect is constituted by the presence of large number of nomads among the population. Traditionally the Somalis are nomads although we have a cultivable land of about 8 million ha. and a coastline of over 3,300km. that have not yet been adequately exploited.

The tremendous drought which struck the country has greatly affected our development Plan, although it costily helped us in moving toward resettling the nomads. Referring to above problem in IDEP/SIDAM seminar held in Mogadishu on October 1975 Jaalle Aden Mohamed Ali, then Minister of Labour and Sports has stated that «the encouraging results of this initiative and the experience gained through it increase our confidence in the success of our future schemes for the resettlement of the remaining part of the nomadic population».

We are therefore sure, that the problem of the nomads will not end with these resettlements and that it will continue to have impact on our future development efforts.

The Government has made

an extensive study on ways and means to eliminate the basic constraint on rural development. In addition, with the Juba Valley development scheme the government is launching a unique and gigantic programme. This provides the control and the regulation of the flow through a large dam north of Bardheere. It further provides the construction of irrigation system connected with this dam and the consequent development of 230 thousands ha. of irrigated land. The programme includes also the transformation and supporting industries, the infrastructures, the collateral civil works, the urbanistic and other structures. The project is one of the biggest projects in Africa, currently under study or in the phase of implementation. It aims at the achievement of self-sufficiency in foodstuffs. It is also the first time that a developing country with limited resources faces, by means of the rule of a centrally planned economy, a huge and integrated development plan.

Similar steps have been taken to develop the fishers and livestock sectors.

BUREAUCRATIC ADMINISTRATION AN INSTRUMENT OF STAGNATION.

We will not attempt to itemize all the achievements of the Revolution but will merely delineate the major socio-economic and political achievements. Without popular participation in the developmental activities one could hardly talk about revolutionary or serious changes in the socio-economic structures of a Third World Country. Aware of this truism the Somali Revolution embarked upon the ensuring of mass participation. The administrative system could

either be an instrument of change, when it is embedded in mass participation or an instrument of oppression and stagnation when the administrative apparatus is part of the super-structure of an exploitative society.

Before the Revolution the administrative structure was the tool of the neo-colonial society. It was not structured for mass participation: the nomads, subsistence farmers and fishing communities were hardly involved. It was not meant to produce social surplus but the little it produced was pocketed by the corrupt bosses. The Revolutionary Government made it one of its main priorities to restructure and redirect the administrative machinery in order to ensure the twin purposes of mass participation and socio-economic and political changes. A true reflection of this is the number of districts and regions before and after the Revolution:

	1969	1977
Regions	8	16
Districts	48	83

The marked quantitative increase of districts and regions is a testimony to the revolutionary quest for mass participation. Beyond the district are the thousands of villages which are necessary constituent parts of mass participation and the philosophy of democratic centralism.

This restructuring and redirecting of the administrative machinery is essential for basic changes in the social domain. A society whose citizens are mostly illitera-



Mass Education is facilitated by the construction of compulsory schools.

te is bound not to harness science and technology and therefore is bound to languish in poverty. The Revolutionary Government laid down the necessary policies and programmes to eliminate illiteracy in the Republic. Prior to the illiteracy Campaign a script was chosen for the Somali language. This facilitated the Revolutionary determination to reach the nomad and to make him literate. The illiteracy campaign necessitated the closing of secondary schools and the upper classes of the intermediate schools for one academic year. Coupled with the illiteracy campaign was the Health campaign for both the people and the livestock. A significant achievement of these campaigns was the meeting and blending of urban-rural Somali life. Surely the benefits were not only one way.

MASS EDUCATION GEARED TOWARDS DEVELOPMENT AND SELF-RELIANCE

The Somali script also facilitat-

ed the expansion of the educational system. A foreign language as the medium of instruction sets an unnecessary limit. The table below indicates the breaking of this barrier:

Yrs.	No. of Class	No. of St.
1970	1713	54,472
1971	1998	67,999
1972	2304	84,567
1973	2860	107,403
1974		
1975	5377	126,563
1976	5994	242,588
1977		



New role of the Somali Workers.

The increase of the total student population from 57,472 to almost quarter of a million within five years is a dramatic one. The budgetary allocations reflect this and the country will reap the benefits the years to come.

Adult education has also expanded significantly. All districts have the requisite facilities for adult edu-

cation. Further cultural development is a stated policy of the Revolutionary Government. The mass media has been very prolific in the production of cultural items. Films in Somali are becoming standard features: over 100 films have been made in the last few years to inform the masses on what is going on in the country and the world.

A SOCIETY OF HEALTHY CITIZENS

A healthy population is a prerequisite for socio-economic development. Jaalle Siyad has repeatedly reminded us that one of the main goals of the Revolution is to fight against disease. The elimination of diseases such as small-pox, malaria and T.B. are in the forefront of this campaign. Admittedly this will take sometime because we cannot marshal all of the necessary resources but what has been achieved in the last few years portrays our determination. The number of doctors and hospital beds have increased modestly:

Yr.	Drs.	Hospitalbeds
1970	145	4,482
1977	287	5,706

Efforts to restructure the national economy have met factors which are beyond our control: the long drought 1973-1976 and the effects of the economic crises in the capitalist countries have had serious impact on our Revolutionary plans and programmes. The drought killed more than fifty percent of our livestock and had debilitating effect on modern (banana, sugar, and grains) and subsistence agriculture. Despite this the sound base which has been laid down for the economy had the desired effect. The nationalization of «commanding heights» of the economy and the price stabilization established for commodities have not only saved the Somali masses from the hazards of the existing economic crisis in the capitalist countries but has given us a sense of Revolutionary purpose.

The two short-term plans (1971-73, 1974-78) which have been drawn have charted out our priorities and programmes. Self-sufficiency in food is a prominent feature of our economic policy.

No doubt the necessary resources are available in the country, it is a question of implementing the policies and the programmes so as to feed our people by 1980 without importing.

In order to minimize our susceptibility to the economic crises of the capitalist countries the Revolutionary Government has embarked on planning our foreign economic relations. The direction of trade of the country is to reflect the overall economic policy of the Revolutionary Government. We can say with confidence that it has been done. The direction of our trade is no longer left to an «invisible hand» but is part of the stated economic policy.

Adhering to Non-Alignment

The direction of trade manifests our foreign relations. Our foreign relations is guided by positive non-alignment, cordial relation with

the progressive forces, sister Arab and African States, and the Third World in general is a cornerstone of our foreign policy. Another equally important cornerstone of our foreign relations is the full support for the Liberation Movements. Our relentless war against imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism have put us squarely in the progressive camp. This has been a general policy line of the Revolutionary Government. Our full support for the Liberation Movements in what was called Ethiopia whether they are the ones in Eriterea or the Western Somali Liberation Front is our Revolutionary Obligation. The breaking down of the Ethiopian Empire is not the work of the Somali Democratic Republic the Liberation Movements are more than adequate for that. The accusation of the Ethiopian Junta that Somalia is directly involved in the military campaign is unfounded. Mengistu is practising the policy which

has been perfected by Haile Selassie: external domestic problems when they get very serious.

The Somali people do not wish the Ethiopian people any harm but the WSLF is fighting for its legitimate rights: self-determination. We are aware that a lot of crimes are being committed in the name of maintaining the anachronistic empire. Mengistu and his clique cannot mislead world public opinion and victory will be attained by the Liberation Movements.

During these eight years everything did not work as planned, shortfalls were experienced in many fields. The main reasons of this shortfalls can be identified in the lack of commitment, lack of experience or understandable opportunism. The SRSP is well aware of all these difficulties and problems and of course it is able to find appropriate solutions for all of them.



The role and future responsibility of the Somali Youth

By: ABDULAZIZ BUDAH

Sixty years have elapsed since the birth of the Great October Revolution in the Soviet Union led by V. I. Lenin. The period is relatively short but tremendous political changes, affecting the whole world have occurred. Many developing countries got liberated from colonial oppression and are in a continuous struggle against imperialism. Not only that but the working masses of Europe and America have achieved important victories.

This host of successes in political, economic, scientific and technological development have been realized through the hardwork and continuous struggle which progressive forces have demonstrated in the light of the objective realities of this century marked by the transition from capitalist system to socialism; which has speeded up the destruction of world capitalism and the emergence of the superiority of scientific socialism basically guided by the birth of

the movements and the working class in capitalist countries.

The progressive youth of the world who have grown up with proletarian parties and world liberation movements, have played a major role in the attainment of these long-lasting developmental results through international cooperation and the scientific guidances of the world proletariat.

The emergence of the socialist and progressive forces such as li-



The participation of students in the literary campaign.

liberation movements have marked the period after the second World war the role of youth in political, economic and social development and since then became ever more vital and vigorous at both national and international levels.

The struggle of progressive youth all over the world for the realization of peace, democracy and socialism has been very significant although, they have been obstructed by the contradictions of the socio-economic formation of exploitation, even though 50% of every society is composed of youth.

Youth have a natural tendency to acquire and absorb new scientific thought inevitable for the development of the society and the individual. They constitute the most active force in society which has the capacity to create new things and are, in any way, the most ambitious segment of the society. They are therefore in the vanguard in the war against the enemies of mankind, imperialism; co-

lonialism and neo-colonialism and in the simultaneous struggle for the development of the living conditions and politics of every country in the world.

All socialist parties and democratic forces consider youth as a basic unit and an indispensable heart in the success over the historical contradiction of society. We have to underline that thousands or even millions of youth are directly affected by the struggle for the elimination of all kinds of oppression and exploitation of man by man even though there are many unliberated countries suffering under fascist and racist regimes in Africa, Latin America and Asia whose peoples are still exploited. Yet the struggle against these enemies is gaining momentum with every day that passes and successful achievements are being realized and unions of progressive youth and students at national and international levels are busy, along with the cooperation of democratic peace and progress loving forces in the united action of all youth

everywhere in one front for their absolute support of liberation forces in Africa and others suffering under the yoke of fascists and zionists such as those in Southern Africa, Palestine, Chile and many others.

During the last 30 years, the struggle of democratic youth and students have gained international significance. The cooperation and the armed struggle of youth, in the development of society and in the international efforts for the destruction of such systems as colonialism and neo-colonialism, has strengthened. The youth struggle has also been directed towards the liberation of colonized peoples and they have also participated in the call for peaceful solutions for every problem, in the limitation of arms and its final destruction which is based upon cooperation between countries of the world and respect for human rights and mutual use of science and technology for the elimination of ignorance, hunger and disease and in general the development of human societies.

The world youth are engaged in all the struggles for the realization of these objectives and this can be exemplified in the 11th Festival of World Youth and Students which will be held in Havana, Cuba next year, 1978. This will be an illustration of the role of the international struggle for the development of human society whose motto is: «For anti-imperialism-solidarity, peace and friendship».

THE NATIONALIST STRUGGLES OF THE SOMALI YOUTH

The Somali Youth have earned a golden page in our history due to their active role in the

struggles against colonialism, neo-colonialism as well as economic, cultural and social backwardness.

Recently the 34th Anniversary of the foundation of the nationalist party, the Somali Youth League (SYL) was observed throughout the country. Main objective of the Party was the liberation of the motherland and the task of unifying the five Parts the Somali territory was divided into by the colonialists.

In view of the circumstance prevalent in the country, the Party was faced with major challenges of dislodging colonial occupations through the mobilization of the Somali masses partitioned by imperialist powers. Thanks to the 15 Founders of the SYL. The masses had been successfully organized within a short period of time to counter the colonial force.

The ideas presented before the masses by the Party not only won the approval of the broad masses but have effectively inspired and triggered their nationalist sentiments. Within a short time the movement for national independence was founded in all parts of the territory which was under the domination of different colonial powers. However abundant the resources and arms of the colonial forces, the Somali Youth, with soul and heart determined to follow the examples of the former nationalist movements led by Ahmed Gurrey and Sayid Mohamed Abdulle Hassan, had proved in black and white the vulnerability of colonialism in the face of liberation movements.

The first phase of the Somali people's long struggle for national



University students in actions in the resettlement of the drought-stricken people.

liberation was interrupted on 1st July 1960 when the British Somaliland and the Italian Somaliland — achieved independence to form the Somali Democratic Republic.

The new Republic was faced with undertaking economic, social and cultural development tasks coupled with the liberation of the territories still under colonial domination. The political party and the men at its top echelons, had however contributed only to demolish the aspirations of the people thereby dampening their nationalist spirits and vigour. No efforts have been exerted with regards to realizing the aspirations of the people.

The product was a fertile ground for neo-colonialism. The new regime which came into power merely became a puppet of neo-colonialism. It is very important to note that the nine years which followed independence were characterized by frustration of the youth and the people in general

with regards to their aspirations for better employment and educational opportunities, economic backwardness, administrative mismanagement and disregard for improving the lot of the people. Worse still, constant hearsment and intimidations were subjected to the forces which have contributed our labour for the attainment of independence.

The existence of the above hostile conditions and obstruction have not, however, deprived the youth from contributing to the transformation of the social system based on exploitation and the manipulation of its leadership by neo-colonialism and international imperialism. This manifested itself demonstrations staged by the youth and the people against the reactionary regimes and for a better social system that would usher a better life for the people. Examples could be cited as those staged in 1962, 1963, 1965, 1967 and 1969. Such and other matters contributed to the

politicization of the masses, manifested the need of the people for a society based on justice and equality. In short a situation with all the ingredients of a revolution was the final product.

THE SOMALI YOUTH AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY.

Apart from its active local activities, the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union maintains relations with international progressive organisations and youth organisations of the socialist countries. Binded together by the common struggles against colonialism, neo-colonialism and international imperialism and for freedom, peace, democracy and socialism. The relations between the SRYU and these organisations gains momentum day after day. The SRYU is an active member of the World Federation of Democratic Youth «WFDY», International Union of Students, «IUS», African Youth Movement «PAYM» All - African Students Union as well as the Arab Union of Youth and Students. Thus, the SRYU have participated in Festivals, Conferences and Seminars through which the role of youth in the struggle for social development were discussed. The devotion of the SRYU towards the eradication of colonialism neo-colonialism and for the freedom and independence of all peoples is evidenced by the Union's full participation in the 11th Festival of the International Students and Youth held in Berlin, Regional Festivals held in Tunis, Libya and Iraq, and the Seminars held in Mogadishu among which was the seminar on the «Revival and Development of National Culture», held here between the 14th -- 16th January 1977 under the sponsorship

of IUS, AASU and the SRYU.

The progress made by the SRYU in foreign relations and its contribution to the political, economic and cultural development of the country is a product of the consistent struggle of the revolution towards the creation of a new socialist society.

THE PRESENT RESPONSABILITIES OF THE YOUTH.

The Somali Revolutionary Youth Union is a component of the gains of the Revolution. It is tirelessly committed to implement the Party programme and resolutions, government plans and to realize the aspirations of the Somali people in general.

After the historic congress for the foundation of the SRYU, the immediate tasks facing the union were the promotion and improvement of its organisation and fulfilment of its programme. In view of its commitment to inculcate its members with love for work, desire for education and the need for the rapid develop-

ment of the country, the union has rightly adopted as its motto «Education, production and defence». The SRYU has the pleasures to participate in the 8th Anniversary of the birth of the 21 October Revolution with the Somali people.

The Eight Anniversary of the 21st October Revolution shouldered the youth to overcome the difficult tasks engendered by the Political crises prevailing in the Horn. At the same time to fulfill the objectives of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party concerning the defence of the fruits of the Revolution, national independence and realisation of the unity of the Somali people for social progress, peace and socialism.

On this occasion the Somali youth promises to raise the production and deeply involve itself in the process of nation building on the road of scientific socialism. The Somali Youth believe that the result of its work will be the corner stone of the future.

COLONIALISM AND RESISTANCE: HISTORICAL NOTE ON WESTERN SOMALIA

By: HUSSEN M. ADAN

The Somali people have lived throughout their recorded history in the Horn of Africa, a territory situated in North East Africa, bounded on the North by the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, on the East by the Indian ocean, on the West by the Somali plateau bordering on the Ethiopian highlands and on the South and South-West by Kenya. For centuries this territory had an identity and was known as the «Land of the Somalis» from one corner to the other.

Possessing the crucial attributes of a nation, Somalis have a common language, are associated with a certain territory, have a similar economy, culture, history and traditions. Before colonization and partition in the second half of the last century, the Somali people formed a well-defined autonomous community with a distinctive way of life, language, and culture. To a large extent, the Somali people depend on the pastoral way of life for their livelihood. Somalis pos-

ses a rich national literature transmitted orally (prior to the writing of the Somali language in 1972). This literature does not display significant regional characteristics on account of the great homogeneity in the Somali way of life. The common practice of Islam is another bond unifying the Somali people.

Late in the 19th century, forceful partition by Britain, France Italy and Ethiopia led to the dismemberment of a single people amongst a number of haphazardly assembled colonies. Nevertheless, this bitter experience of colonial partition and domination quickened and strengthened historical Somali national consciousness and identity, give Somali nationalism a decidedly, political rather than a purely cultural orientation.

The epoch of imperialism witnesses the global competition for colonies. The scramble for the Horn of Africa found Britain, France Italy and temporarily at least, Germany as the significant actors in the process of carving up territories. Indigenous development saw the growth of a feudal Abyssinian Kingdom incorporating a host of different peoples in its expansionist trend. In the Sixteenth century, this «Christian Kingdom» met defeat in the hands of Somali hero Ahmed Gurey. The patriotic wars of Ahmed Gurey form part of the historical traditions embedded with in Somali national consciousness. Even at that early period, Abyssinian rulers appealed to foreigners, Portuguese colonialists, to intervene in the conflict; the defeat of Ahmed Gurey was the result of this plan to «Internationalise» a regional conflict.

This pattern of conquest and expansionism reached its climax in the nineteenth century with the daring campaigns of Emperor Menelik. Menelik's imperialistic adventures coincided with the European rivalries for partitioning the Horn of Africa. Italian colonialists formed an alliance with Menelik and instigated him to despatch a circular letter to the heads of European states in 1891. The following excerpt from it shows clearly that Abyssinia, later renamed the Ethiopian Empire, was determined to effectively participate in the scramble for Africa as black colonialists: «While tracing today, the actual boundaries of my Empire, I shall endeavour if god give me life and strength, to re-establish the ancient frontiers of Ethiopia upto Khartoum, and as far as lake Nyanza with all the Gallas. Ethiopia has been for fourteen centuries a Christian Island in a sea of pagans. If powers at a distance come forward to partition Africa between them, I do not intend to be an indifferent spectator».

Italo-Abyssinia cooperation led to conquest of Harar on 8th January, 1887. Italy provided 1,500 trained men and some Italian officers to beef up Menelik's army. The pretext for the conquest of Harar was to revenge the killing of an Italian expedition led by Count Poro. Thus for the first time Abyssinian managed to bring part of Somali territory under her domain.

THE QUESTION OF ARMS

Abyssinian aggrandizement fitted European imperialist designed and competition in the area. Accordingly, the Kingdom of Abyssinian

was provided with huge quantities of arms. Menelik wrote to his masters frequently appealing for arms in order to «subject savage heathen people.» The availability of excessive arms permitted Menelik of Shoa to embark on an expansionist policy leading to the creation of an Ethiopian Empire. European Government and private dealers brought into Abyssinia huge amounts of rifles, carbines, revolvers, cannons, swords, ammunitions etc.

On September 16, 1890, Abyssinia acceded to the Brussels General act which, among other things provided for the prevention of fire-arms falling into the hands of Africans. Though her accession to this act, however, Abyssinia was entitled to the unrestricted importation and possession of Fire-arms. Abyssinia gained this exceptional privilege through the good-will of Britain France and other European powers and by sponsorship and special recommendation of Italy.

The possession of arms gave a tool of European imperialism in the Horn. Accordingly, she was able to negotiate various treaties with the European powers all of which sacrificed the fundamental rights of the various peoples in the area. The Franco-Ethiopian treaty of 1897 implied the transfer of large areas of Somali territory to the Ethiopian Empire. The Anglo-Ethiopian secret treaty of 1897 underlined Britain's secret promise to cede large parts of Somali territory under her protection to Ethiopia. Ethiopian rulers were also able to negotiate various treaties with Italy favourable to their colonialist interests.

These same European powers had concluded treaties of protection with Somali elders as part of their imperial strategy. Somalis undertook such agreements mostly in order to preserve the territorial integrity of their lands in the face of the real threat of territorial aggrandizement of Emperor Menelik II of Abyssinia who had acquired excessive arms from European powers, especially France and Italy. The treaties concluded with Somali elders between 1884-89 specifically rule out the transfer of Somali territory to Abyssinia as was undertaken during the course of time.

The European powers did not honour their obligation to protect Somali communities from Abyssinian armed raids. Somali elders appealed to them for access to arms in order that they may be able to protect themselves. The Somali and other African peoples of the Horn were categorically denied any access to arms for self-defence. What is worse, European colonial power carried out numerous raids aimed at capturing all weapons previously obtained under difficult conditions.

The disarming of the Somali and other peoples of the Horn left them at the mercy of Menelik's imperial ambitions. The defeat of an Italian force at Adowa in 1895 consolidated Abyssinian's role as a sub-imperialist agent. This victory permits Abyssinia to negotiate favourable treaties in 1897 with Britain; France and Italy as noted above.

EARLY REVOLTS AND RESISTANCE:

The dismemberment and colonisation of the Somali and other

peoples of the Horn brought about numerous revolts culminating in a serious, prolonged resistance movement on the part of the colonized. Menelik's troops, with the aid of Italian forces, conquered Harar in 1887 as mentioned above, prior to that, his troops had raided the territory of Arusi in 1882. The people of Arusi fought hard to preserve their independence. Their revolts came, to be coordinated by Sheikh Nur Hussein who proclaimed a Jihad. Similar phenomenon took place following the conquest of Harar and of Bale and S damo sultanates from 1891 onwards.

At first the revolts tended to be spontaneous and uncoordinated. Later on, they came to assume the nature of a sustained anti-colonial resistance movement albeit under the cover of a religious revolt or jihad.

The most famous and most widespread resistance movement of this type was the one led by Sayid Mohamed Abdulle Hassan. The Sayid tried hard to unite all Somalis in a war against Abyssinian British and Italian colonialists. Proclaiming open war against the British in 1899 the Sayid conducted guerrilla warfare over a large part of Somali territories without help from any outside power, the Sayid succeeded in foiling all attempts to defeat and capture him. Five major British military campaigns and four Abyssinian campaigns failed to destroy this anti-colonial resistance movement.

Resentment against colonial intrusions were so widespread among the people at large and that is why the Sayid could wage succes-

ful warfare for an unprecedented period (21 years) fully depending on the resources of his peoples and territory.

In 1920, an unprecedented step in modern warfare is undertaken for the first time on African soil; the Royal Air Force is brought to carry out aerial bombardments on the Sayid's fort and forces at Taleh. The Sayid and his remaining troops retire into Abyssinian occupied Western Somalia where he died of old age in 1921.

Sayid Mohamed's resistance movement left powerful memories of anti-colonial struggles in the Horn of Africa. His classical poems have been recited for generations and have provided a fertile source of patriotic inspiration. His military and political campaigns and tactics constitute a veritable treasure house of experience. For example even during that early period, the need was felt to coordinate the Somali anti-colonial struggles with similar struggles on the part of other peoples of the Horn. Accordingly, the Sayid sent emissaries to various areas in order to link up the various movements. A man named Sheikh Mohamed Yusuf was sent to Bale by the Sayid in order to assist in the struggles of the people of Bale. Later on, he sent about 20 riflemen to the people of Bale.

It is pertinent to recall here that struggles against Abyssinian expansionism go back much further than the late nineteenth century.

From the tenth century onwards, various kings of Abyssinian tried to extend their rule to the coastal areas. Thus in 1315, Saad-ad-din Ahmed led Somali soldiers in

successful operation against a major Abyssinian raid. Saadadin Ahmed is reputed to have established the city of Harar in 1318. He was killed during an Abyssinian raid on the port of Zeila but his brother Sabrudin took over and pushed the Abyssinian invaders from their highland enclaves. Sabrudin is connected with the establishment of the Muslim sultanates of Bale and Sidamo. Ahmed Gurey led the most successful military expeditions against Abyssinian coastal oriented expansionism during the period of 1521 until his death in 1543. Upon his death, Amir Nur Mohamed came to power and he and others after him, continued to wage wars against Abyssinian attempts at conquest of Somali and other peoples of the Horn. When Menelik conquered Harar in 1887 with the help for the Italian troops he defeated Emir Abdullah Mohashakur, a descendant of Ahmed Gurey and the others.

It is important to recall this history in order to gain a better perspective on the various forces of national liberation waging battles in the Horn of Africa. It is also pertinent to recall here that during these early battles of the past up to the present, it was Abyssinian (then and now) that sought to internationalise the regional conflict of the Horn of Africa. In waging wars against Ahmed Gurey and others, the Abyssinian rulers sought the aid of Portuguese who were at the height of their power in the Pedfer. Abyssinian appeal for foreign intervention utilized «Christianity» as a convenient expediency. Nevertheless, it was the rise of imperialism and the scramble for Africa in the late nineteenth that a great opportunity arose for Abyssinian expansionism as a sub-imperialist power in collabora-

tion with European colonialism. Menelik II cleverly utilized the opportunities provided under the umbrella of European colonialism to extend his Kingdom to what came to be called the Ethiopian Empire.

THE NATURE OF ETHIOPIAN COLONIALISM.

The Ethiopian Empire had been created artificially by Menelik II as a collaborator of European colonialism. When Menelik became paralysed in 1907, he nominated Liji Iyasu as his successor. Iyasu tended to sympathies with the Muslim populations recently conquered by Menelik. Liji Iyasu finally adopted Islam and began to establish contacts with Sayid Mohamed Abdulle Hassan. European powers saw in him the makings of yet another anti-colonial Mahdi. Abyssinian ruling circle assisted by their European masters began to plot against Liji Iyasu. He was deposed while visiting Harar and Jigjiga in last minute efforts to raise a Muslim army for another Jihad. On 27th September 1917, therefore, Menelik's daughter Zawditu was declared empress, with Ras Tafari (the future Haile Sellassie) as regent and their to the throne.

European powers had helped Abyssinian rulers carve up an empire through the provision of arms and the secession of territories through treaties. In anticipation of future problems within the Ethiopian Empire, they had also signed treaties intended to guarantee for the survival of this artificially patched up Empire. A case in point of such an imperialist alliance is the 1906 between Abyssinia on one hand and Britain, France and Italy on the other. The agreement pledged these European powers to: «Maintain intact the territorial integrity

of Ethiopia, to provide for every kind of disturbance in the political considerations of the Ethiopian Empire. In the period following World war II, the US joined Britain and France among the powers preserving the territorial integrity of the Ethiopian Empire.

At present, the new rulers in Addis-Ababa are counting on certain socialist state to provide them the arm and the political support necessary to guarantee the ill-gotten territories constituting Ethiopian Empire-State.

Ethiopia hardly had a chance to establish itself in the territories illegally acquired. Western Somalia in particular. Between 1935 and 1941 Italy conquered the Ethiopian Empire and administers the various Somali territories as part of a single region by 1941, Britain defeated Italy and between 1941-48 the whole of the Somali nation except the Somali part under French rule was under one British administration.

The British helped restore Haile Sellassie to the Ethiopian throne and hand over to him most of Western Somalia in 1948. The rest, the Haud and Reserved areas was handed over in 1954. Accordingly, for most of the inhabitants of these areas, Ethiopian rule is both recent and temporary.

Western Powers helped create Ethiopia as a sub-imperialist power through modernizing its military institutions. The task of providing Ethiopia with modern weapons is predominantly assumed by the US after and during 1950's 1960's and up to the overthrow of Haile Sellassie in 1974.

In general, Ethiopian colonial rule remained extremely harsh and primitive for many years, it functioned in the form of a «tribute

system» collected through punitive raids. Military colonies were transplanted in key positions in the occupied territories. In fertile agricultural zones, attempts were made to transplant Amhara speaking settlers.

During the late fifties, Haile Sellassie promised to build schools etc in the occupied territories. As an arch imperialist, he saw such schools as a transmission belt for the culture of the colonizer. In a speech at Gabredahare on August 25th 1956, he stated his desire to establish schools which «will not only impart education, but also will foster understanding and co-operation among the military, the police and the Civilian population (however)lack of knowledge of the national language (Amharic) will be a barrier for the education we have in mind for you» Not with standing such promises, Ethiopian colonialism hardly made an effort to establish the minimum of basic services in the fields of education health, water supplies etc.

Through clever diplomacy as a sub-imperialist agent, Haile Sellasie managed to extend the Ethiopian Empire over Eritrea in 1952. Western powers, led by the US were instrumental in giving him Eritrea under a feeble UN sponsored federal constitution. Eritrea like the Southern part of Somalia, had been an Italian colony. Prior to that, it had never been a **part of Ethiopian. In 1962, Haile Sellassie unilaterally abrogated the UN sponsored federal constitution and annexed Eritrea as a province within the Ethiopian Empire.**

FROM RESISTENCE TO NATIONAL LIBERATION

The history of the Ethiopian Empire, like all human history, is

dialectical. On one hand we have the history of the oppressors and his expansionist policies and practices, on the other hand, the history of the colonized victims, their struggles against colonization and oppression.

We have already recounted the early resistance struggles at the time of partition and colonization. Such early resistance efforts helped to provide a background for the efforts that came later.

During the 1930's separated revolts continued for example, the Anglo-Abyssinian boundary commission, was attacked and its officers killed as it attempted to demarcate the so-called boundary on the ground between 1931-34. The Italian invasion of Ethiopia helped to crystallise a sustained resistance movement in Western Somalia.

By the 1940's the various revolts and resistance movements began to crystallise into a national liberation movement organized around modern nationalist political parties. The Somali youth club was born in Mogadishu on May 15th 1943. The SYC later developed into the Somali Youth League by 1947. Branches of these nationalist organizations were opened up in all Somali territories, including Western Somalia.

In 1948, the British not only restored Haile Sellassie to the throne, but they also helped him in **military, suppressing the national aspirations of the colonized peoples.** The revolt in Jigjiga, for example, cost at least Twenty-five Somali lives. The incident occurred as a result of an Ethiopian attempt to pull down the flag of the SYL.

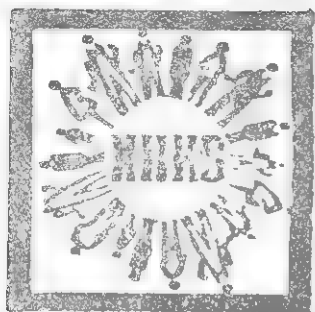
During the period of British military administration, the people of these areas utilized all peaceful

political means to express their antipathy toward Ethiopian colonial rule. In 1947, for example the representatives of all the people in Western Somalia presented the British authorities with a petition against the surrender of their country to Ethiopia, requesting that their protests should be conveyed to the general Assembly of the United Nations. A similar petition was submitted before the UN four powers commission of investigation in Mogadishu on January 22nd 1948. Similar wishes were expressed at the all-Somali conference that was held in Mogadishu on February 1st 1948.

The Haile Sellassie regime spared no efforts in suppressing all forms of peaceful political activities. It undertook brutal methods in order to destroy the nationalist aspirations of the people of Western Somalia and Eritrea throughout the 1950's.

By 1962, such measures led to the breakout of a national liberation war in Eritrea. The 16 years struggles of the Eritrean patriots has led to the liberation of most of Eritrea with the exception of the cities of Asmara, Massawa and Asab.

In Western Somalia, the struggle hardened into an underground movement ever since the UN inquiry commission visiting Mogadishu in 1948 ignored the request for self-determination presented by the people of the territory. During the early 60's the movement flared into open guerrilla warfare headed by Mukhtal Dahir. As described in the last issue of Halgan, events were to lead up to the Western Somali liberation Fronts which have managed to liberate about 98 per cent of the territory by October 1977.



PARTY LIFE

THE TASKS OF THE PARTY COMMITTEES IN THE DISTRICTS, EL-AFWEIN AND DINSOR

The organisation of the SRSP of El-Afwein District in the Sannag Region was founded in 21st Sep. 1976, consisting of 49 members and 4 members who were the founders of the SRSP.

The El-Afwein district has 8 Party Cells and 7 Divisions established on the basis of the place of work and environment. In pursuing the responsibility of implementing the Party Programme and the 3rd Plenary resolutions of the Central Committee of the SRSP, the district Party Committee of El-Afwein has made a considerable achievement in the field of Education. Presently, the district has 6 schools that facilitate 600 pupils and 12 adult classes of 200 students. Also 6,800 persons are continuously taking lessons within the permanent programme of the rural development campaign. The Party district Committee of El-Afwein expects to eradicate illiteracy within 2 years after estimating 80% of its population to be literate.

The economic sources of the district are: livestock, myrrh and agriculture, the district is one of the places where the drought of 'Daba-Dheer' has badly affected its livestock. The Party district Committee, tried to organise the remaining livestock and their production, and for that sake, livestock cooperatives were established in the district. In this year, 1977, 5 livestock cooperatives were recognised, these will play a dominant role in the resettlement of the rural people in the district.

The district Party Committee is hopefully waiting for the livestock cooperative to be increased annually and thus be realised the resettlement of the rural people.

El-Afwein district is famous for its livestock, the District Party committee have diligently tried to realize the establishment of these cooperatives. Today, 2 cooperatives are established in the district. The Administration of these cooperatives are led by the cells and divisions of the District Party.

In the aspect of seminars the district was one of those formed in the year 1975 and for this reason it hasn't got orientation centres earlier.

In October 1976, 3 seminars were opened in the district continuing for a period of 3 months. This seminar was taken by the Party members, workers committees, youth pioneers, mothers, youth, functionaries, Concernment Agencies and the Committees of the cooperatives. In February 1977, another seminar in which was discussed the implementation of the Resolutions in the 3rd plenary session of the central Committee of the SRSP was opened in the district.

DINSOR DISTRICT

The Party Committee of the Dinsor District is composed of 7 members, and the Party cells of the District were founded on 6th Nov. 1976. These amount to 8 cells, the Party divisions are established in 6 villages.

The plan of the Dhiinsoor District in the year 77 is as follows:

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Centres of Education

1. Min. of Posts and Telecom.
2. Ministry of Health
3. Ministry of Livestock
4. Ministry of Agriculture

Skill	No. peop.	Time
R/T	6 pers	6 Months
Urgent Asis.	15 pers	»
Animal Hus.	15 pers	»
Increasing		
Agric. Pr.	40 perso	»

5. Ministry of Transport	40 pers	
	Mech. and driving	30 perso
6. The Branch of Ideolo. and Organ. of the Education		»
	Socio. Soc.	60 perso
7. The Ideological Education divided into 3 months,		»
	1 month and 7 days	

ECONOMIC GROWTH

1. To implement the hides and skins cooperative..
2. To implements the clothes and utensils cooperatives.
3. To implement Meat market Cooperatives
4. To implement Lime Cooperatives
5. To implement Weaving Cooperatives
6. To implement small scale trading cooperatives
7. To implement three Agricultural Cooperatives

DISTRICT PLAN

The projects that have implemented in the first three months of the year 1977;

- a) Hides and skins cooperatives; implemented;
- b) Clothes and Utensils cooperatives; implemented
- c) Meat market cooperative implemented
- d) Lime producing cooperatives implemented
- e) Seminar for learning technical skills R/T 60 persons
- f) Seminar for learning scientific
- g) Seminar for learning mechanical

anics and driving — 30 persons
h) Ideological education categorized into 3 months, 1 month 7 days;

i) Formation of the Flowers of the Revolution — 60 persons in the capital town.

j) Formation of the flowers of the Revolution in the Y/Barawe village — 20 persons.

k) Ranges for enhancing animal grazing lands;

These projects were implemented in the district plan for the first 3 months of the 1977, the district is hopefully willing to implement the remaining part of the plan for the coming 6 months.

The consolidation of the rural development programme; — the district is doing well this programme, the number of people being 15,865 persons. Centres for learning are 229, 383 teachers, 12 persons for animal husbandry, 15 persons for the people's health.

Fulfilling the circular of the Secretary General of the SRSP No. SRSP /D-1/190/77 of 13.1.77, which aimed the Adult Education development programme and Party members were implemented as were supposed; and are:

A — Adult Education:

- i. Grade 1 — 180 students
- ii. Grade 2 — 112 students
- iii. Grade 3 — 33 students

B — Party Member's Education.

- i. Grade 1 — 24 persons
- ii. Grade 2 — 10 persons
- iii. Grade 3 — 21 persons

Moreover, we have offered them ideological lessons just as the ideological Bureau of the Central Committee of the SRSP has prepared the lesson's plan for the 1st Year of the programme.

To implement the resolutions of the Polit-Bureau of the SRSP and Council of Ministries aimed at supporting the small farmers, the District, Party Committee nominated a committee for fulfilling this task, and are composed of the Party Committee, heads of government branches and some Party members. Their Chairman is the head of the economic development branch and the SRSP cooperative of the District.

They are responsible in carrying the corn to the petty farmers in the most appropriate time and to get back this corn when they harvest their corn in the spring.

**On the occasion of the
8th Anniversary of our Re-
volution HALGAN congra-
tulates the Somali people
whenever they may be,
for their unity and for the
sacrifices they are making
in this difficult stage**

Speech delivered by comrade Mohamed Siad Barre, General Secretary of the SRSP on the 8th Anniversary of the 21 October, 1969

Dear Comrades,

Each year, on the occasion of commemorating this great day in our history, it has been our tradition to take stock of what we had accomplished and what we were unable to accomplish, to assess the present and to chart out a programme of action for the future.

It therefore gives me great pleasure to meet with you today once more and to share with you our joys and celebrations.

This particular anniversary of our revolution has special significance in so far as it occurs at a crucial moment in the history of the Somali Nation and indeed at a time when the momentous events taking place in the Horn of Africa are bound to determine the destiny and the fortunes of the peoples of the region as a whole. On the one hand, the brilliant victories of the liberation fronts of Western Somalia, Eritrea and Afar and Abbo peoples have brought the inevitable disintegration of the Ethiopian empire into sight; on the other hand, the desperate efforts of the Ethiopian colonial regime to suppress the liberation struggle in its empire and start wars of aggression in the region with the full support and backing of foreign troops and armaments, creates a

situation of extreme gravity in the area.

It is for this reason that I intend to devote the major part of my address today to this all important issue. But before I do so allow me to high-light in a very general way a few of the major activities of our revolution in the past eight years, and touch on some aspects of the policies we have been following.

Comrades,

The Somali Revolution of October 21st 1969 led to major social transformation affecting all aspects of our life. In transforming the consciousness of our people, it permitted them to radically change the material conditions around them. We remember vividly how in the first years of our Revolution we struggled to transform our economy into a strong national one by getting rid of foreign domination, by nationalizing all foreign trade, the financial organizations and the energy sectors and thus returning the control of the commanding heights of the economy into the people's hands. We all remember vividly how, when we realized the meagerness of our resources our working masses responded to

the call of the Revolution and participated actively in the programmes for self-help schemes to enhance our efforts at national construction with our most available resource—manpower. We remember vividly how our workers, young people students, intellectuals, women and soldiers devoted selflessly their physical and mental energies to the campaign against illiteracy all over the country with astonishing results. We remember vividly how these same people and others such as civil servants, doctors and nurses contributed whole heartedly to the epic struggle to save the lives of the victims of the disastrous drought and later to their resettlement.

All these activities and many others, which time will not allow us enumerate here were taking place in an atmosphere in which the revolutionary consciousness of the masses was being constantly raised to ever higher levels, their mobilization and organization constantly improved, and in which revolutionary planning, enthusiasm and vigilance was the guiding light. Such combination of revolutionary theory with the practical needs of the country enabled our working people to grasp the basic principles of Scientific Socialism and its necessity as the only true and correct

ideology to guide the economic progress and development of the broad masses of the people.

No wonder then that the October Revolution, spearheaded by the Armed Forces, gradually transformed itself to a revolution of the whole people until the process culminated in the establishment of the Party — the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party — in 1st July 1976. On that day the Supreme Revolutionary Council dissolved itself and transferred all its powers to the SRSP as the organ to guide the Somali Revolution.

The first major steps taken by the Party with a view to consolidate its organization and spread its influence and network among the working masses were fully reported in detail to our people during the 3rd Plenary Session of the Central Committee on 4th — 15th January 1977.

Up to that time the holding of of Regional and District Party Conference and the election of their committees was completed. All that remained was the creation of the primary organisations or cells of the Party and social organisations.

In our report to the 3rd Plenary Session of the CC we described the Cells «as the very foundation of the Party» and as such we considered the question of «building Party cells all over the country as the most crucial task before us.» As regards social organisations the Party Programme emphasizes that: «without the collaboration of the masses the Party alone cannot build the new society the extent of its power is directly related to the extent it is tied to the masses. «Also in the Report to the 3rd plenary Session of CC we pointed out: «The Party should

be linked to the masses through mobilizing and organizing them. Therefore, our Party should pay considerable attention to the task of improving the structures and functions of our social (i.e. mass) organization».

The implementation of these two tasks started and completed during the first half of this year. The Cells have been formed at both work places and residential zones. Today their number stands at 806.

The social organizations, in existence before the Party, were re-organized and restructured as legal and permanent institutions of our masses. Founding Congresses were held respectively on the following dates:

The Somali Democratic Women's Organizations (SDWO) on 4-8 March 1977; that of General Confederation of Somali Trade Unions (GCSTU) on 27-30 April 1977; and that of the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union on 12-14 May 1977. In all of these national congresses work-programmes and constitutions were adopted, and the leading organs such as the Central Committee and Secretariat elected. These national Congresses were preceded by district and regional congresses which established their local organizations and elected delegates to the national congresses. Thus established the social organizations are today playing their proper roles in society as organizers and mobilizers of the masses. They actively participate in all programmes of national construction and act as necessary links of the Party with the people.

Comrades,

Dwelling on the political deve-

lopments does not mean that there was no activity in the economic front. In fact it was in this sphere that our revolutionary resilience was bitterly tested. We have already mentioned that in the early years of the Revolution we have embarked on the restructuring of the inherited neo-colonial economy along socialist lines. To reinforce this restructuring and advance economic progress further the five years plan was adopted in the beginning of 1974. This plan gave top priority to the directly productive sectors of agriculture, industry livestock and fisheries.

Many ambitious projects which when completed, would have changed our economic picture a great deal were included. All this was to be accomplished within the framework of our socialist policy by giving predominance to the state sector and the co-operative movement while at the same time giving sufficient scope to the private sector to play its role.

However, just when then implementation of the plan was started serious external economic dangers beset us. The inflationary spiral generated in the Capitalist World to which unfortunately economies like ours are still tied, took huge proportions in 1974. This inflation, together with the subsequent crises in the major currencies, placed immense obstacles before the proper fulfilment of the plan by raising the costs of projects and other essential imports.

To cap it all, the drought struck us in the same year. We all know what it cost us in terms of human energy, organization and diversion of resources to save the lives of our people who became destitute

to resettle them in alternative permanent occupations.

Naturally in such circumstances the plan fulfilment was bound to fall short of expectations. In January this year we reported in great detail what the fulfilment and shortcomings were, and there is no need to recount them here again. What we do want to point out here is that despite the great odds the plan has not only been salvaged, but it has been redirected according to the new priorities set by the situation, namely the resettlement of the nomads and at the same time most of the major schemes envisaged in it are being carried out. That we were able to do this, in addition to braving the above external odds, is sufficient witness to the revolutionary determination of our people and their ever-readiness for self-sacrifice.

Comrades,

In previous October celebrations and many other occasions, specifically in reports to the Congresses and conferences of the Party and the working people, we made abundantly clear where the Somali Revolution and Government stood on the major international issues of the day.

Our standpoint has always been and still remains a principled one flowing from our revolutionary policy and practice at home. We stand for peace, progress and socialism. This is the only way poor countries can lift themselves up from the squalour of underdevelopment. It also guarantees just and equal relations in intercourse among nations. But this state of affairs must be struggled for. The progressive nations, the non-aligned movement, and all those forces

seeking peace and progress have to struggle in every forum, and in every possible way to achieve these aims.

Our revolution formed an integral part of this current. Accordingly we have played our role and performed our duties in all regional and international bodies — the Organization of African Unity, the Arab League, the Islamic Conference, the Non-aligned movement and the United Nations. We have worked to the best of our ability towards bringing about understanding among peoples within the framework of these organizations and among these organizations. The Afro-Arab Summit held in Cairo during March 7-9-1977 was one of the goals we, and others have worked hard for.

In the Arab World we fully participated in the activities of the League, made our contribution in the struggle against zionism, and lent our full support to the Palestinian Revolution.

Our whole hearted support for the liberation movements in the Southern Africa who are struggling against the racist regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa was manifested from the beginning of the Revolution. We will never relax our participation, both moral and material, in that struggle because we believe that our freedom itself is in danger so long as a single inch of Africa remains unfree.

The armed liberation struggle against colonialism, apartheid and zionism had a natural ally in the socialist countries, who saw in this cause a furtherance of the principles of peace and progress and, ac-

cordingly, gave it their unqualified support.

Revolutionary Somalia also believed in, and saw the necessity of, alliance of the Socialist World and the liberation movements. Unfortunately a unique and stunning situation developed in the case of Ethiopia when some socialist countries opposed the genuine liberation movements struggling against Ethiopian colonialism and instead began to support their colonial oppressor, the Ethiopian Regime on the pretext of internationalist solidarity.

To understand the complex situation presently obtaining in the Horn of Africa, it is necessary to go back to its genesis in history. The Ethiopian empire began its life as part and parcel of European colonialism. Previously, various feudal kings of Abyssinia coveted the coastal lands and peoples of the Horn. Each time they tried to extend their domination to the Somali and other peoples of the Horn, they were beaten back. During the sixteenth Century, Ahmed Gurrey pushed them back into their high land enclaves. Others before him and many after him continued to do the same. During those days, Abyssinian rulers appealed to Portuguese colonialists to help them establish footholds on the Somali Coast. In other words, using the propaganda cover of «Christianity», they actively sought to internationalise local conflicts between themselves and neighbouring peoples they wished to colonize and exploit.

During the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, the European scramble for African colonies gave them the op-

portunity they have been waiting for.

Menelik of Shoa hired himself as a tool of European colonial interests while skillfully playing one European power against another. In this way he obtained huge quantities of arms that paved the way for colonial expansion and the establishment of the Ethiopian Empire. As a result he changed from King of Shoa to Menelik II of Abbyssina.

On September 16, 1890 Abyssinia acceded to the Brussel's General Act which among other things provided for the prevention of fire arms falling into the hands of Africans. Through accession to this act, however, Abyssinia became entitled to the unrestricted importation and possession of fire-arms. Abyssinia gained this exceptional privilege through its active collaboration as an agent of European imperialist powers. As a consequence, she received huge quantities of rifles, cannons, carbines, ammunition etc. Abyssinia received the most sophisticated arms of that era. A foreign observer travelling in the area in 1900 remarked: «I should think there are more rifles, Gras and Remington, in Abyssinia than there are men to carry them».

By 1887, Menelik II had enough arms to conquer Harar with the help of an Italian expedition. In this way the Kingdom of Shoa grew into the Ethiopian Empire through military raids and the usurpation of territories through treaties with European collaborators.

The arms build-up of those years totally disrupted natural historical developments and the

normal balance of power in the region.

Furthermore, France, Britain and Italy made agreements in 1897 without the knowledge and consent of the Somali people with Abyssinia in which they ceded to the latter Somali territories already under their colonial control. These amounted to the betrayal of the treaties of protection entered into earlier with the Somali people.

While European powers continued to pour arms into Abyssinia they barred the neighbouring people from access to arms for self-protection-what is more they even carried out punitive raids in order to disarm the populations concerned.

Thus we see that imperialism generally, gave Ethiopia the means, political and military, to establish an Empire. The nature of Ethiopia's colonial rule remained extremely primitive and harsh including the forced expropriation of livestock and agricultural produce from the local population. The regime constantly intimidated its colonial subjects in order to stifle all forms of protest: poisoning of water wells, frequent raids and mass murders. Not the slightest efforts were made to establish the minimum basic services in the fields of education, health, water supplies and the like.

Naturally, the colonized peoples revolted against such intolerable conditions. The people of Western Somalia took an active part in the 20 years struggle led by Sayid Mahamed Abdullah Hassan against Ethiopian, British and Italian colonialism.

The liberation struggles continued into the 1930's and 1940's. With the defeat of Ethiopia in 1936 by Italy, most of the Somali territories came under Italian rule until 1941. From then to 1948, it took British troops to impose force and violence in order to restore Haile Selassie's rule upon the colonized people in Ethiopia. Britain transferred a great part of the territories already ceded in 1897 agreements in 1948, the rest (the Haud and Reserved Areas) in 1954.

Accordingly, to the majority of the people in the area, Ethiopian rule has been both recent and temporary. Most of the people in the area still recall the force used to transplant the Ethiopian colonial flag on their territory. From 1943 onwards, the Somali Nationalist Organization, the SYL, opened numerous branches in the area. The Harar branch was among the most active. The Ethiopian regime suppressed all forms of political activity in Western Somalia as it did in Eritrea and in all its colonized areas. This suppression against peaceful political activities was intensified during 1950's.

During the 1960's a semi-clandestine political movement called NASRULAH arose in the area. Attempts to suppress it led to a situation of guerilla warfare national liberation. By 1964, unable to contain the liberation struggle, the Ethiopian regime launched a full scale war upon the newly independent Somali Republic in order to intimidate it into cutting off sources of material support for the liberation forces. The temporary setback to the liberation struggle only contributed to the search for better methods of continuing the

struggles. These developments eventually led to the birth of the Somali West and Abbo Liberation Fronts.

A similar situation arises in the case of Eritrea. Like the Southern part of Somalia, Eritrea was colonized by Italy and experienced similar nationalist movement. Prior to that, Eritrea had never been part of Abyssinia. After the Second World War, Emperor Haile Sellassie managed to obtain Eritrea under a feeble federal constitution in 1952 and by 1962 unilaterally annexed Eritrea. The valiant people of Eritrea, after exhausting all peaceful means of protest, took to arms and have been waging heroic armed struggles for well over 16 years. They too have successfully liberated most of their territory with the exception of three major towns.

What is happening in Ethiopia today is the crumbling of the oppressive feudo-colonial Empire. This is but the inevitable process of disintegration of all Empire States. The overthrow of the Emperor and the feudal system ought to have opened new visits of development for the oppressed masses of Ethiopia and for the region as a whole. But the present regime unfortunately did not fulfil these legitimate expectations. On the contrary it opted for a course of action that betrayed the hopes of the Ethiopian masses and the colonized nations raised by the overthrow of Haile Sellassie. It chose to continue and intensify the oppressive methods of the previous feudal regime against the colonized peoples, and also to massacre the progressive elements of its own society, who have had the courage to oppose the brutal Dergue Regime.

The Addis Ababa regime has increased its violations of human rights beyond all pessimistic expectations. Thousands of students and innocent citizens have been massacred with impunity. Recently imprisoned students were massacred in cold blood while in prison in so-called retaliation for the assassination of key officials of the regime.

The Addis Ababa regime shocks Africa and the World in its systematic and synical violation of human rights. It is tragic for the Ethiopian masses who struggled to overthrow the feudal repressive regime of Haile Sellassie to find themselves in this situation of terror and violence.

Yet, however terrible are the human rights violations, the genocidal wars waged by the Dergue and their forces of oppression against the liberation forces become even worse. Unable to suppress the will of the people engaged in popular struggles they ordered the massacres of thousands of innocent people, the burning of villages, the poisoning of wells the holding of large numbers of civilians as hostages. We call upon the international community to condemn these genocidal campaigns.

To carry out such inhuman actions has made the regime very unpopular. To divert the masses opposition the regime continues to whip up imperialistic hysteria. It diverts the peasants from agrarian reforms by raising huge armies of them in order to lead them as cannon fodder in their war against the national liberation forces.

Such a regime has no internal basis for support. It has not only alienated the progressive movements, but also the broad masses of

the Ethiopian peoples. It even openly admits that some of its troops are not loyal. Such an unpopular blood-thirsty regime can only survive as a result of incredible foreign support including huge armaments and foreign troops to protect itself and to facilitate the continuation of its senseless colonial wars.

We may rightly ask who is threatening the regime? against whom is it being armed so heavily? Isn't it first to crush the liberation movements then to launch an invasion against neighbouring countries such as the Sudan, Somalia, Djibouti and Kenya? Does it not also threaten the normal international sea traffic in the area.

In the 19th Century the Abyssinian regime built its empire with the aid of European colonial powers using christianity as an instrument of propaganda. In the early part of the 20th Century it was these powers that kept the Empire together. We will always remember the agreement of 1906 between Britain, France, Italy and Ethiopia in which the three European colonial powers reaffirmed the earlier treaties ceding Somali territory to Ethiopia and undertook to «maintain intact the territorial integrity of Ethiopia and to provide for every kind of disturbances in the political consideration of Ethiopia Empire». Today the present regime is opportunistically utilizing socialist and revolutionary slogans, and is using certain socialist countries in the name of internationalist solidarity to maintain the illgotten Ethiopian Empire of the 19th Century intact.

Thus we see that history amply demonstrates the endemic opportunism of successive Ethiopian regimes. It is indeed sad to witness

the USSR, Cuba and some other socialist states being taken in by such intrigues.

Nevertheless, it is the Soviet Union today, and some other socialist countries who are pouring huge quantities of sophisticated armament including the latest fighter planes, tanks and missiles to bolster the Mengistu regime. The Cuban Government is also playing a dangerously adventurist role in the Horn of Africa today. Claiming to defend a so-called Ethiopian Revolution from reaction, it has committed its troops to fight in the area. We have made it abundantly clear, that the only danger facing the Regime today is the wrath of the colonized peoples and its own subjugated masses. The Liberation movements of the peoples colonized by the Ethiopian Empire who are struggling for freedom today are indeed aggrieved to find themselves facing Cuban soldiers fighting on the side of the oppressor.

DEAR COMRADE,

We have taken time to elaborate on the historical aspects of the problem in order to correctly show who is the oppressor and who is the victim in the Horn of Africa. The case we are presenting is supported not only by the facts of history, but also by the fundamental principles of Scientific Socialism Marx and Engels stated «a people that oppresses other peoples cannot itself be free». V.I. Lenin termed this formula as «the fundamental principle of internationalism.»

Let us also recall Lenin's formulation of the socialist principle on the right of nations to self-determination. He emphatically pointed out that the right of nations to

self-determination, to be historically meaningful and just, must include the right to secede if such is the people's wish. Lenin not only proclaimed the principle, he also put it in practice at the very birth and infancy of the Soviet State which granted its nationalities the right to secede.

Ethiopia should refrain from using force and violence in order to retain the unjust order of the previous regimes. In this manner the present Ethiopian regime, which loudly proclaims its commitment to Scientific Socialism, would be able to give a concrete demonstration of their attachment to socialist principles. The new Ethiopian regime should recognized that the granting of the right to self-determination to the colonized nations is a priority of all priorities for a genuinely Socialist-oriented Revolution.

In sacrificing the implementation of such basic socialist principles, the Ethiopian regime is obliged to perpetuate colonial wars that endanger peace thereby destroying the great opportunity for treating genuine socialist solidarity and cooperation between all the people of the Horn.

The frantic one-sided support given to the Ethiopian regime by certain socialist states also indicate the sacrificing of general socialist principles on self-determination of peoples for the sake of state strategic interests, thereby aggravating the complex historical issues of the region.

The policies currently pursued can only add fuel to the fire thereby leading to confrontations between the progressive movements

of this region and the policies of the concerned socialist states V.I. Lenin was indeed very correct when he concluded that, «nothing so much holds up the development and strengthening of international socialist solidarity as national justice».

DEAR COMRADES,

As we have emphasised many times, the Somali Democratic Republic considers itself duty-bound to support all national liberation movements and accordingly, we have staunchly supported such movements as those of Palestine, Zimbabwe, South Africa and previously, those in Southeast Asia, the former Portuguese territories and Djibouti. Given the colonial nature of the Ethiopian Empire, we have likewise supported the national liberation fronts fighting against colonial oppression since we sincerely believe that colonialism has no colour. Nobody can deny that the people of SDR and those of Western Somalia constitute the same nation that has been brutally divided; nevertheless, the problem is essentially between the liberation front and the Addis Ababa regime.

History records numerous efforts undertaken by the SDR to facilitate a peaceful resolution to the problem in the spirit of African brotherhood and good neighbourliness. Several initiatives were taken in this direction while Haile Sellassie was still in power. His regime categorically rejected all our constructive initiatives.

The OAU in 1973 established a good offices committee of 8 Heads of State to look into the matter. Unfortunately, the successive Ethiopian regimes maliciously blocked

the effective operation of the OAU Committee and all other international and regional efforts.

After the overthrow of Haile Selassie contacts continued with the new Dergue leadership. Special envoys were sent for direct contacts, opportunities offered at regional conferences were utilized to the maximum, several Heads of State attempted to offer their good offices for a just solution to the problem. However, the new regime following on the footsteps of its predecessors, continued to deny the existence of the problem, let alone the right of self-determination of its colonized peoples. In spite of his socialist rhetorics, Mengistu continues to deny this right not only in practice, but even in principle. Accordingly, all hopes for just, peaceful political solution to the problem came to an end. This in turn led to the intensification of the armed liberation struggle.

DEAR COMRADES,

The principles of the UN and the OAU provide the basis for resolution of such problems in a peaceful manner. The universal recognition of the right of peoples for self-determination is a fundamental principle of the United Nations Charter.

Also non-aligned movement symbolized by the Bandung Charter embodies the principles of decolonization and self-determination.

The OAU Charter states as one of its fundamental objectives the «eradication of all forms of colonialism from Africa.»

It is, furthermore, pertinent to recall the world-wide Pan-African movement which held several con-

ference between 1900 and 1960. During a series of such conferences held between 1958 — 1960, a number of resolutions were passed which denounced «artificial frontiers draw by Imperialist powers to divide the peoples of Africa, particularly those which cut across and divide people of same stock» and called for the early solution of such problems based on the principle of self-determination. At the All-African Peoples Conferences of 1958 and 1960, specific resolutions were passed and enthusiastically supporting the independence and unification of the peoples of the Cameroun and Somalia.

Now, various Addis Ababa regimes, in an effort to secure legitimacy for her ill-gotten colonial empire often invoke the principle of territorial integrity while ignoring the fundamental and universal principles of the OAU Charter. Decolonization is not inconsistent with the principle of territorial integrity of State. On the contrary, it is states based on self-determination that the principle of territorial integrity of states applies to. Furthermore, Ethiopia which has always opposed on untenable grounds the discussion of the issue of Western Somalia by the O.A.U. often and falsely maintains that the O.A.U. had actually taken a decision on the matter by reference to the O.A.U. Cairo resolution of 1964 on border inherited from colonial rulers.

It should be pointed out:

- a) That the O.A.U. 1964 Resolution is generic in character and does not refer to any particular dispute.
- b) That even though Somalia registered its reservation against

the resolution at the time of its adoption, basically Somalia does not challenge its purpose. What Somalia maintains is that since Ethiopia is a colonial power, the provisions of the resolution will become valid and applicable only when and as the process of DECOLONIZATION is completed in the area i.e., when Ethiopia's colonisation of Western Somalia is ended.

Now, a great deal of confused propaganda has arisen on this resolution of the OAU and on the recent Liberville meeting of the OAU good-offices committee. A great deal of the dust has in fact been kicked about by non-Africans who have suddenly and frantically jumped into the bandwagon of supporting the OAU, while the fact, undermining it by dangerously interfering in Africa's internal affairs. The OAU has never taken any position on the issue that could even be remotely interpreted to be against the right to self-determination of the people of Western Somalia, in spite of all the propaganda to the contrary spread by certain quarters.

We are confident that the OAU fully appreciates the uniqueness of the case in as much as it provides along with that of Eritrea an instance of a colonial territory under a black colonial power. We furthermore earnestly hope that the O.A.U. will not allow the situation in the Horn of Africa which is primarily an African problem to go out of its hands through the uncalled for interference of foreign troops and armaments provided by foreign countries that want to impose their will on the situation. Africa's Leaders must be aware that such foreign interference,

using simplified labels in a complex situation in accordance with their state interests, could be repeated over and over again to the detriment of the peoples of Africa.

Dear Comrades,

In a bid to divert attention from the colonial nature of her empire, Ethiopia often compares her occupation of Western Somalia to border problems inherited from the colonial era so common in Africa. It is in line with this policy for instance that she spares no effort to sow seeds of discord between Kenya and the SDR.

The whole world knows that European colonialism has left problems that could be distorted to produce tensions between the SDR and Kenya. This is a classical case of issues inherited from European colonialism. As we had occasion to remark in the past we do not believe that Africa's elder statesman, President Jomo Kenyatta would fall prey to the adventures of Mengistu and his clique.

The Addis Ababa regime continues to propagate malicious lies about the relations between the SDR and the Republic of Djibouti. This too is an old game, started by the previous Addis Ababa regimes. We recall Haile Selassie claiming the territory and peoples of Djibouti as part of the Ethiopian Empire many times in the past; in 1957 for example, just before the pseudo referendum and again in 1966. His regime actively participated in the manoeuvres that distorted the positive expression of self-determination of the people of Djibouti especially in 1958 and in 1967. The SDR, on the contrary, consistently campaigned for the

independence of Djibouti just as it campaigned for that of other colonized peoples. We recall the crucial UN vote on Djibouti in November 1975 during which even France abstained while the Ethiopian regime cast the only negative vote. The vote against Djibouti's independence was cast by a representative of the dergue regime. But the movement of history could not be prevented. Djibouti became independent to the jubilation of all freedom loving peoples. The Addis Ababa regime, opportunistic to the core, had to pretend that it supports the independence of Djibouti. All hypocritical proclamations do not hide its real expansionist designs, based on the untenable excuse about needing the railway line and Djibouti port facilities.

Mutual good neighbourly relations can guarantee Addis Ababa export and import facilities not only in Djibouti, but even in ports of the Somali Democratic Republic. Assured of plenty of armaments, previous rulers in Ethiopia arrogantly claimed not only Djibouti but the whole Somali Coast.

The Coastal oriented expansionism of Addis Ababa regimes has always been and continues to present serious dangers to the independence of neighbouring states.

COMRADES,

The Ethiopian Regime is clearly not only unwilling to solve its colonial problems, but also is no longer capable of containing the advances of the liberation forces struggling for their freedom and independence. In addition the go-

vernment has not been able to find an appropriate solution for the dissatisfaction and unrest so widespread throughout the country and the rebellion of the workers, peasants, students and intellectuals against the regime, led by militant oppositional organizations.

Under such circumstances it is no wonder that the regime should try to find an escape goat for its failure.

Accordingly it has found convenient to accuse the SDR of aggression. It is pertinent to recall here that Ethiopia has for all practical purposes declared war on Somalia. The leader of the present regime in Ethiopia proclaimed mobilisation against the SDR recently and Ethiopia planes have on several occasions since the beginning of last month mounted bombing attacks on various parts of the country including Hargeisa, the second major town of our Republic.

It is now clear beyond any doubt that the conflict between the forces of liberation and the colonizing power is being transformed into an international crisis threatening not only the Somali Democratic Republic, but the whole region.

A war-conflagration in the region, in which outside forces are actively engaged, would have dire consequence for the peaceful traffic along the seas in the area, the peace of the Middle East and Africa, and as a result of the world at large.

We believe that it is extremely dangerous for the international community to silently watch the

development of such a state of affairs. The Somali Democratic Republic has spared no efforts to serve peace in the area by actively and patiently seeking a peaceful political solution, which is perfectly in accord with Charter of the UN and the O.A.U.

The SDR calls the attention of international community to the extreme gravity of the situation developing in the Horn and appeals to it to urge the Soviet Union and some other socialist countries to immediately put an end to the dangerous supply of arms to Ethiopia and to stop their interference against the liberation struggles raging in the Ethiopian colonial empire. We equally call upon the international community to urge Cuba to immediately pull out its troops from the area and refrain from meddling in the affairs of the Horn of Africa. Furthermore, we appeal to the international community in general and the OAU in particular, to urge Ethiopia to recognize and implement the right of the people for self-determination and independence and bring this unhappy colonial Chapter of her history to a close.

Somalia on its part wishes to state that the continuation of the present all-out armed support to the Ethiopian Regime by the Soviet Union and the influx of Cuban troops put the relations between colonial Chapter of her history to a great jeopardy.

Any course of action that run counter to the achievement of these objectives would only add fuel to the fire by creating an unfair and unbalanced approach to the detriment of the just cause of self-determination and freedom of the

peoples previously colonized and by consequence, to the detriment of peace in the area and the world.

Dear Comrades,

As I said on several occasions, for example, in my address to the nation of August 14, 1977; Somalia bears no ill will towards the people of Ethiopia. On the contrary, we in Somalia regret the plight of the Ethiopian masses due to the sufferings perpetuated by the present Addis Ababa regime. Nevertheless, given the Dergue's designs and the quantity and quality of arms poured into its hands, there is a great need for the people in Somalia to exercise revolutionary vigilance. Let me repeat the call to all of us to be ready to defend the national dignity and independence of our country.

I call upon you to participate enthusiastically in all programmes intended to enhance the defensive capacities of our nation. It is also incumbent upon all Somalis to continue to raise political consciousness.

The need to improve our defensive capacities should go hand in hand with the crucial need to increase production. Everyone of us has to make greater sacrifices than ever before.

For the past eight years, the Somali people have become accustomed to various aspects of revolutionary vigilance. The October 21st Somali Revolution has had to confront various internal and external enemies. Our valiant revolutionary people have had to confront serious natural disasters and calamities. All these and other historical tests mentioned previously,

have helped to unify, organise and discipline our people. Our revolutionary experience led us to create a party of the masses through the social organisations that were reorganised and restructured, this year. As a result of our serious efforts to develop our country and our principled stand on international issues, especially those affecting Africa and the Arab World, our international standing and the range and number of our friends all over the world has grown considerably.

Accordingly, the Somali people do not find today in the weak, unorganised situation they found themselves in 1964 when the Haile Sellassie regime threatened our dignity and existence.

Finally allow me to heartily congratulate our people, wherever they may be, for the remarkable unity and sense of self-sacrifice they are manifesting at this crucial period of our history. We highly appreciate the spontaneous sense of patriotism and cooperation tangibly demonstrated by the Somali people everywhere.

In spite of all the threats and dangers we have discussed above, we remain unshakeable in the great confidence we have in our people who possess great moral virtues, determination and great capacity for self-sacrifice. We are confident that we shall succeed in our present tasks just as we succeeded in the past, thanks to the invincible unity and courage of our people.

“We earnestly hope that the OAU Will not allow the situation in the Horn of Africa which is an African problem to go out of its hands through the uncalled for interference of foreign troops and armaments provided by foreign countries that want to impose their will on the situation”

From the speech delivered by Comrade Mohamed Siad Barre General Secretary of the SRSP on the 8th Anniversary of the 21 October 1969 Revolution.

HALGAN

**Appears every month
in Somali and English
issues and trimonthly
in Arabic**

FILM FESTIVAL AND THE 60th ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

On 4th October 1977 a large ceremony was held in the Soviet cultural centre in Mogadishu on the occasion of the film Festival of the Socialist countries commemorating the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution. Members of the Central Committee of the SRSP participated in the ceremony, among them Omar Salad Elmi Chairman of the Mobilization Bureau, the ambassador of the Soviet Union to Somalia and representatives of the socialist countries to Somalia.

Jaalle Omar Salad delivered a speech on this occasion. He said, «On behalf of the Central Committee of the SRSP allow me to extend to you warm greetings concerning the celebration of the 60th Anniversary of the great socialist Revolution.»

Jaalle Omar Salad continued his speech; «Today, all progressive forces in the world are celebrating the great socialist Revolution which was the first of its kind. To celebrate this historically significant revolution has got two objectives. First, it is essential to study and evaluate the revolution and the historical changes that has occurred and followed the October Revolution.

Secondly, it is imperative that the progressive forces and liberation movements should cooperate and unite their struggle against imperialism and all

its forms: colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid and zionism». Jaalle Omar Salad mentioned in his speech that the great October Revolution in 1917 in Russia has contributed much to the changes in the world and balanced the antagonistic forces that existed in the world. Jaalle Omar Salad also mentioned that the great October Revolution opened a new phase to the peoples of the world it ushered the transitional epoch from capitalism to socialism.

The Chairman of the mobilization Bureau also talked about the liberation movements and said; «The colonized peoples got a strong force to support their struggle.» Jaalle Omar Salad mentioned in his speech the birth of the 21st October Revolution and the friendly relations between Somalia and the Soviet Union. The Chairman of

the Mobilization Bureau declared that the SDR has taken a drastic step against imperialism colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid and Zionism, he continued his speech and said «All the Somali people are fully supporting the Somali West and Eritrean Liberation Movements who are struggling for their independence and to overthrow the colonial subjugation of Abyssinia who claims to be a socialist Regime.

Jaalle Omar Salad concluded in his speech «On the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the Great October socialist Revolution, we request the progressive forces and the peace-loving peoples of the world to support the just struggle of the Somali West and Eritrean Liberation Movements. That is the only solution to resume peace in Horn of Africa.»

The closing ceremony of the 4th seminar of the political institute of the SRPS

On the evening of 1-10-77 a ceremony was held in Halane School concerning the closing of the 4th Seminar of the Political Institute for 154 students. Among the participants of this occasion were — Chairman of the Bureau of social sciences

Jaalle Ahmed Mohamud Farah Chairman of the Mobilization Bureau Jaalle Omar Salad Elmi, Vice-chairman of the Social Sciences Bureau Jaalle Mohamed Jama (Haji Kore) all of them members of the CC of the SRSP, and the Director of the

Halane Political Institute Jaalle Adan Abdullahi Nur, member of the CC, Party Functionaries, Government Officials and delegates from Social Organizations. Also, students from the National University and the Citizens of Mogadishu and all the different groups in «Halane» School participated in this ceremony. At first, a speech of reception and report was delivered by the Vice-Director of the Political Institute Jaalle Yasin Sheikh Muse. He briefly traced the history of the establishment of the Institute, the different stages it passed and

the objectives it has to achieve in the future.

After the speech, the guests were shown a concert prepared by the students in the Institute which portrayed the immense importance of the Institute for the Somali Society and the struggle waged by the Somali people for the liberation of their land and people. The Play was full of nationalism and motivated the people who participated in the ceremony. After the concert an invaluable speech was delivered by the Chairman of the Bureau for Social Sciences

Jaalle Ahmed Mohamud Farah.

In his speech he pointed out the need for politically conscious cadres, he also emphasized the need for the justice and the implementation of the innumerable tasks shouldered on them. The Chairman concluded in his speech in which he encouraged and advised the youth «Comrades, the Somali people who sent you here to learn are waiting your assistance in overcoming the underdevelopment and the various problems engendered by Colonialism».

A Somali Delegation Visits the USSR

A Somali friendship delegation led by Warsame Ali Farah Central Committee member of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party and Vice-Chairman of the CC foreign Bureau participated in the international friendship meeting held in Moscow 27-29 September 1977 on the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

While in Moscow, the Somali delegation met with leading members of the Soviet Friendship Organizations, members of the CPSU Foreign Bureau and visited many interesting places of particular importance was the delegations meeting and discourse with professor R. Ulyanovsky, a renowned Soviet authority in the problems of the Developing countries.

The Somali delegation also

met in Moscow with the staff of the Somali Embassy in the USSR and the heads of the Somali students in that capital taking place in the country.

Warsame Ali Farah, the head of the delegation made a speech at the international meeting. Stressing the significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution and its tremendous impact upon the historical development of mankind; he said «Sixty years have passed since the accomplishment of the 1917 October Socialist Revolution which provided an enormous impetus to the world revolutionary process. It ushered in a new historical epoch, characterized by the transition from capitalism to socialism, and by the downfall of the centuries old system of colonialism. The world face has indeed changed in favour of the peace and free-

dom loving people.

In his speech, Jaalle Warsame also made it clear that the friendship between the Somali people and the peoples of the Soviet Union was further enhanced by the Somali Revolution of 1969. He emphasised «since the inception of our glorious revolution in 21st October 1969, our friendly relationship has acquired an ever greater significance which was crowned in 1974 by the signing of the Somali-Soviet friendship and mutual cooperation treaty».

Aware of the imperialist services and the heinous machinations in the African continent in particular, Jaalle Warsame called for further consolidation of the Unity of the anti-imperialist forces. He underscored «in this remarkable occasion when the people of the Soviet Union, the other Socialist countries,

and all the progressives of the world are joyously observing the 60th anniversary of 1917 Russian Revolution, the world imperialist forces are keenly bent on inflicting great damage to socialism and national independence. They are indeed determined to reverse the march of history for the interest of the exploiting classes. It is therefore necessary that the concerted efforts of all the anti-imperialist forces should be conso-

lidated. In this respect, we find that the further strengthening of the friendly relations between the Somali Democratic Republic and the SOVIET UNION, the stalwork of world socialism, is a dire must in line with the dictates of history».

The other members of the Somali friendship delegation also included Jaalle Dahir Warsame Yusuf, the 1st Vice-President of the Somali Revolutionary youth union and Jaalle Abdiweli

Sheekh Aadan, the Secretary of International Solidarity of the Somali Federation of Trade Unions.

Prior to their departure of the Soviet Union, the delegation paid a visit to the Soviet Republic of Kirgizia.

They were highly impressed by the remarkable achievements made by the Soviet Union in the guidance of the Communist Party in such a short space of time.

The world political scene today shows us that the true nature of imperialism does not change and that it is in essence reactionary and aggressive. It tries, unsuccessfully, to regain its power. This is testified by its consistent interference in other people's internal affairs and its moral and material support of colonialism. The daily occurrence of reactionary coups, the use of mercenaries against liberation movements, the corruption and bribery of the governments of the Third World and the looting of their resources are all manifestations of their resistance and refusal to acknowledge their final and inescapable defeat.

From the Programme of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party.



WORLD AFFAIRS

NAMIBIA'S STRUGGLE ENTERS A NEW PHASE

For the past 10 years, the UNO has been passing one resolution after another whether in the General Assembly, the Security Council, or the International Court of Justice all to the effect that South Africa's occupation of Namibia is illegal and as such South Africa, a full member of the UNO, should withdraw completely and unconditionally from that country so that the people of Namibia accede to their inalienable right of independence and selfdetermination. Yet all these resolutions by this august international bodies fell only on deaf ears, and the people of Namibia are still subject to the worst form of colonialisation and oppression at the hands of the racist White - minority regime of South Africa.

Racial discrimination, economic exploitation and political oppressions is the lot of the indigenous population in Namibia. They are reduced, by the inhuman system of apartheid and the police machinery of South Africa into cheap labour and their country, became a source of raw materials for the multinational cartels of the western imperialist states.

Namibia is a large and rich country with a population hardly exceeding one million. With its agricultural potentialities and rich mineral resources, it is quite natural that the people of Namibia should have led a secure and happy life in their country;

but the reality is unfortunately the opposite. In the midst of this abundance, the Namibian people have been forced to live such a difficult life with hardly any comparison in contemporary history.



«The country is divided into two unequal parts: a Police Zone and reserves. The Police Zone which occupies about two thirds of the country's territory, is inhabited by the greater part of the White population - close to 100,000. Obviously, this zone encompasses the most fertile lands, all the towns and mineral deposits. Some 850,000 indigenous are driven into the worst lands, divided on a tribal basis into ten bantustans. Each represents a huge concentration camp, whose population is denied the most elementary human rights». The saddest spectacle of this life of utmost privation is the death toll among the young generation. Child mortality in the bantustans is ter-

rrible: 700 children in every 1000 die before the age of five. The most frequent causes are, undernourishment and unavailability of medical care.

The world is not unaware or unmindful of the plight of the Namibian people. United Nations declared the 1973-83 period a decade of action to combat racism and racial discrimination. The disgraceful and inhuman system of apartheid, of so called separate development, and the brutal oppression of millions of Africans in the last remaining citadel of racism in the continent are consonant with the policy of reactionary die hards throughout the world.

With the passing of time, it has become clearer and clearer to more and more people all over the world that the ignominious racist regimes in Southern Africa would not have been able to last until now and maintain such a way over such a large population in such a vast region if it had not been for the all-rounded economic, political and military assistance given these regimes by the Western States whose multi-national companies reap imaginary profits from their investments in the region. These imperialist States continue to supply, not merely the texts of hypocritical speeches condemning apartheid, but also arms, nuclear know-how, submarines, planes, helicopters, licences, trade, investment and all other commodities

and maintain the apartheid regimes in Southern Africa.

Like all other colonial peoples, the people of Namibia sought to achieve their independence by peaceful means. They welcomed all honest mediations to win their right of self-determination, but all their genuine attempts were crushed at the supremacist arrogant, and rocky attitude of the South African Government. It was only then, after having exhausted all peaceful means, that the people of Namibia led by their political organisation-SWAPO took to armed struggle in 1963. The South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) was readily recognised by the Socialist countries, the progressive organisations and all the peace-loving peoples the world over, and rendered all forms of support and solidarity to attain its rightful objective.

In that short span of time, SWAPO made many remarkable successes; the Namibian liberation organisation has been able in the last decade to produce more technicians, teachers, lawyers, medical doctors, engineers and other university degree holders in various fields than the colonial rule had been able to produce over the century. The essence of this achievement becomes more appreciable when the geographical position and the difficult conditions in which the liberation organisation has to operate is taken into account.

South Africa, it is true, has both technological and military superiority over the «poor» Namibian people; but the Namibian struggle has the right to its side. Moreover, the Namibian right enjoys the full support of the forces that have emerged as the most tremendous power shaping the

course of human history. These are the forces of freedom, peace and socialism.

The independence of many African countries enhances the revolutionary struggle of the Namibian patriots, but the collapse of the Portuguese colonialism and the liberation of Mozam-



bique and Angola seem to have an immediate and direct positive impact upon the liberation struggle in Namibia. Besides the inspiring example these progressive newly liberated countries set for Namibia, they can also owing to their geopolitical position easily extend direct aid and assistance to the Namibian freedom fighters.

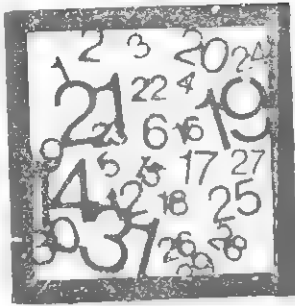
Both the racist regime in South Africa and the imperialist States realised the sweeping revolutionary current in the region. They have, therefore, come up with designs aimed at the stabilisation of the situation in Namibia in order to keep their long term economic and strategic interests in South Africa in fact. The South African government has recently shown readiness to guarantee Namibia independence, but only in accordance with terms laid down by South Africa herself. One such term, and the major one indeed, is to give Namibia a transkei type of Independence.

To this end Mr. Kissinger, former US Secretary of State, and the racist South African Leader, Mr. Vorster announced last year that 31st December 1978 would be the Independence Day of Namibia. What makes this seemingly pleasant announcement no more than a mere farce is the fact that it was made in the absence of the people concerned-Namibians and their lawful representatives - SWAPO.

The fascist South African regime shudders at the prospect of seeing the political power pass into the hands of SWAPO in Namibia, since the organisations choice of the sort of independence for Namibia is too clear and too incompatible with the interests of the racist South Africa and its mentors. The enlarged SWAPO Central Committee meeting in Zambia in July last year had made this point clear in the following clause:

«To unite all Namibian people particularly the working class, the peasantry and progressive intellectuals into a vanguard party capable of safeguarding national independence and the building of classless non-exploitative society based on scientific socialist ideals and principles».

The fulfillment of this noble intention is in full harmony with the objective needs and genuine desire of all the Africans, and the peace-loving peoples in the world. It is, therefore, incumbent upon all who value progress and have a concern for peace and human dignity to effectively put into application all the UN resolutions on sanctions against South Africa. This of course has to be complemented with increased support to and constant solidarity with the freedom fighters of Namibia.



MONTHLY BULLETIN

THE INSPECTIVE TOUR OF THE VICE - PRESIDENT

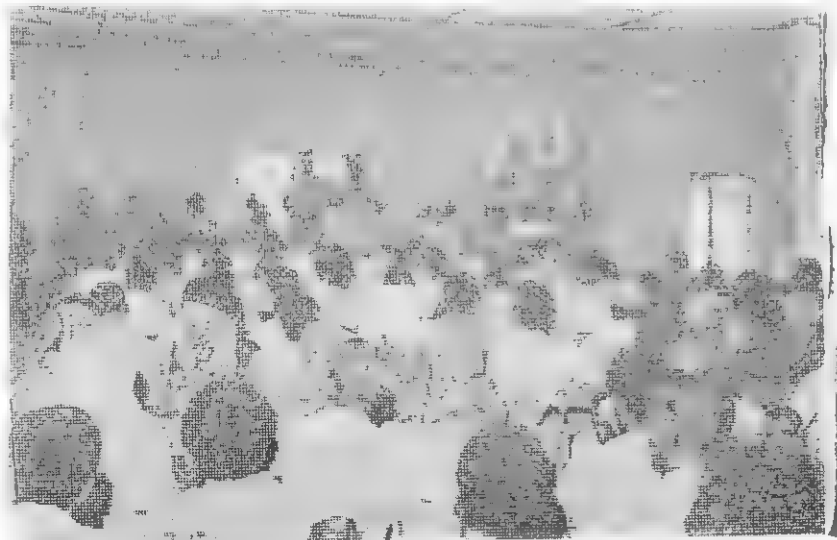
The Vice-President of the SDR Jaalle Ismail Ali Abokor, leading a delegation consisting of the Minister of Education Jaalle Adan Mohamed Ali and other distinguished members of the Central Committee, set out for an inspective tour to six regions on 12th Sept. The visited regions were Mudug, Nugal Bari, Sanag, Togdheer and the North West.

That inspective tour was in line with the requirements of the Charter of the 21st October Revolution, the programme of the SRSP, and the teachings of the beloved leader of the Revolution Jaalle Siyaad that called for the dedication of the authorities to the cause of the society. Thus one of the means of achieving this goal is perpetual inspective tours to the regions in order to be aware of the actual living conditions of the Somali Society, their level of progress and the existing Problems yearning for immediate solution.

During the tour the delegation was holding meetings with the responsible figures of the State and the Party branches in those regions in order to obtain detailed reports about all aspects of the required administration. For similar reasons, the



Jaalle Ismail Ali Abokor Vice-president of the S.D.R. visiting the construction of the Party headquarters in N. W. Region Harpeisa.



Jaalle Ismail Ali Abokor, Vice-president of S.D.R., addressing the committees of the party, social organizations and civil servants at Burao.

delegation made visits to the development schemes in those regions.

Meanwhile, the delegation facilitated their meeting with the masses at the orientation centres. There the Vice-President was conveying the greetings of the President, Jaalle Siyad to the people.

In his speeches the vice-President also indicated how the 21st October Revolution paved the path for the Somali nation to enjoy the present level of socio-economical development. Jaalle Ismail recalled how the SRSP contributed to the achievement of the required economy and the social equality.

In conclusion the Vice-President called for the full participation of the Somali masses in all acts and programmes waged for the sake of nation building while struggling against all factors bringing about individualistic attitudes and disunity of the nation.

In those meeting in the orientation centres, the masses displayed plays and shows depicting their level of political consciousness, the progressive objectives of the SRSP and the Somali folklore dances which implied the people's striving for the revival of the Somali culture.

The delegation led by the Vice-President Jaalle Ismail Ali Abokar returned to the capital on 1st October 1977.

DANAB APPEARS

The first issue of DANAB (Thunder) appeared on the 1st of October 77 in English. Danab is a daily bulletin of the Somali Abbo and Western Somali liberation front and is published in Mogadishu.

The emergence of Danab was necessitated by the need to communicate with the rest of the world on the issue of the (SALF) and (WSLF), accordingly the bulletin has been issued. Danab contains editorials and commentaries, news concerning various aspects of Western Somali military, political, Socio-economic, cultural affairs, historical flashbacks and literary compositions. It also carries other relevant information with regards to all liberation movements in the Ethiopian Empire and those in other parts of the world such as Palestine and South Africa.

In its first issue Danab situates the struggle to free Wes-

tern Somali territory from the Abyssinian colonisation and domination. It highlighted in resistance of the colonized Somali & other people against this colonialism for many years. Danab recalled the fierce combats against Britain, Italy and Ethiopian colonial expeditionary forces waged by the Somali nationalist hero and poet, Sayid Mohamed Abdulle Hassan for more than two decades.

The bulletin also recalled the 16th Century struggles of Ahmed Gurey directed against Abyssinian Expansionism.

THE EDITORIAL BORD OF HALGAN CONGRATULATES THE EMERGENCE OF DANAB (Thunder), ON 1st. OCT. 77 WE ANTICIPATE THAT THE BULLETIN WILL RESOLUTELY UNDERTAKE ITS INFORMATION TASKS AND ACHIEVE ITS CHERISHED OBJECTIVE FOR A JUST CAUSE.



A NEW MINISTER APPOINTED



The Minister of Local Government and Rural development swearing

Colonel Abdirazak Mohamud Abukar was sworn in Mogadishu on 1st. of October this year as the new minister of Local Governments and Rural Development in the presence of the Secretary General of the SRSP J/le. Mohamed Siad Barre.

Present also on the occasion were vice-presidents lieutenant general Mohamed Ali Samatar Major General Hussein Kulmie Afrah and Brigadier general Ismail Ali Abokor, who are all members of the SRSP politburo

J/le Siad delivered a speech on the occasion outlining the importance of the new ministry.

The Ministry will play a great role in the betterment of the living conditions of the people and the development of the country» he said. Adding that because of the people's wide activities of local governments and rural development tasks it became necessary to coordinate them. «The development of the economies of the regions and districts, the coordination, orientation and the awakening of the people and the consolidation of the fruits of the rural development campaign which are all meant to contribute to the growth of the overall economy of the country and the raising of the political consciousness of

the people, has perpetuated the establishment of this new ministry» J/le Siad said.

Meanwhile, J/le Hashi Abib formerly the D.G. of the Directorate for Municipal Affairs and Rural development, was appointed as the Director-General of the New Ministry.

J/le Abdirazak was a member of the officers who led the successful October 1969 revolution. During the period 1970 to 1974, he was the minister of education and he demonstrated dedication and hardwork. He played a historic role in the implementation of Somali script, the Rural Development Campaign and the resettlement programme for the drought — stricken people. In his capacity as the chairman of Revolutionary committee for the task, he was awarded International Medal in the name of the SDR in the fight against illiteracy and ignorance by the United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) at its September meeting of 1975 in Iran. After the foundation of the SRSP J/le. Abdirazak was appointed as the chairman of the Bureau for Education and Sports.

CHINESE ARTIST'S VISIT TO SOMALIA



Chinese artists displaying their traditional dances.

A group of Artists numbering 50 from the Peoples Republic of China and headed by comrade Chang-Ching-Tsai visited the SDR from 20th September to 4th October.

The group called «Chekiang» presented 37 sketches and plays in their fortnight stay in Somalia. The Chinese Artists Group were first established in 1957. They included peasants, workers, soldiers and others from the Colleges of Arts and Literature.

The Chinese performances at the National Theatre in Mogadishu received wide applause and were highly appreciated by the Somali audience. The spectators were held spell-bound by the miraculous and talented Chinese artists. The fully-packed national theatre audience was impressed by the Chinese plays.

Before they wound-up their friendship visit to Somalia, the Chinese Chekiang Song and Dance Ensemble were accorded

a reception by the Minister of Information and National Guidance J/le. Abdikasin Salaad Hassan. The Minister congratulated the Chinese Artists Group on the National Day of the Peoples Republic of China which falls on the 3rd of October annually. He also spoke about the deep relationship and cooperation between Somalia and China. «The visit of the Chekiang Song and Dance Ensemble is an example of this relationship» he said. The Minister declared that the SDR appreciates the successful achievements the Peoples Republic of China has made in its development and the betterment of the lives of the Chinese People.

Comrade Chang-Ching-Tsai, the leader of the Chinese group expressed gratitude on the warm welcome extended to them by the SDR government Party and People. «We have been welcomed wherever we went, which reflects the deep relationship between our country and Somalia», he said. Comrade Chang-Ching-Tsai also declared they have been impressed by the developmental activities going on in Somalia and the tangible successes the Somali Democratic Republic has already achieved in this direction.

U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The 32nd regular session of the U.N. General Assembly which was opened in New York last month approved the admission of two new members: Vietnam and Djibuti raising the U.N. total membership to 149 states. Deputy Prime Minister and foreign minister Lazar Mojsov of Yugoslavia was elected President.

The SDR was represented in the current session by Jaalle Abdirahmaan Jama Bare, Somali foreign minister. In his speech to the 32nd session Jaalle Bare told that, «The question of Western Somalia is not of frontiers between Somalia and Ethiopia but the struggle of the people concerned, led by the WSLF for more than 30 years. The Ethiopian military junta in Addis Ababa is trying to convince the world that having got rid of Emperor Haile Selassie, the country was now a unitary state. It hoped in this way to absorb its colonial territories and was making Somalia the scapegoat for its setbacks. The minister told the General Assembly that Ethiopia is to blame for the fighting in the region. He described the situation in Western Somalia as a manifestation of the determination of the people of the region to free themselves from colonial rule. Jaalle Abdirahman Jama Bare also said that since the present Ethiopian regime came to power three years ago, there have been widespread reports of human rights violations in that country

He charged that these violations could not be compared in speed and intensity to the atrocities committed by the Addis regime against the Somali population in the region. Jaalle Abdirahman assured that Somalia wanted a peaceful solution for the problem in the Horn and added that the SDR Government had undertaken several initiatives of bilateral settlement and through the OAU, but he charged that any interference by foreign powers would only make the situation worse.

Also addressing the Session Gabonese President Omar Bongo told the General Assembly that Africa should be a permanent member of the Security Council with the powers of the veto. He said that when the German Third Reich surrendered at the end of the world war II Africa existed politically through the sovereignty of its colonizers. The veto right held by France and Britain on the Security Council reflected not only their moral or military participation in the victory of the democracies but also their sovereignty over immense empires which today no longer existed. Mr. Bongo said. He asked by what right, in those circumstances, such privileges should last to the end of time when Africa had become free yet possessed no equivalent powers. Speaking as current chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Mr Bongo said; We are making solemn request that a member of the OAU designated

for a year by our continental organization be henceforth among the permanent members of the Security Council, with the same rights and the same duties.»

The SWAPO Liberation Movement's Observer mission at the U.N. stated that, withdrawal of all South African armed forces from Namibia before any elections remains a pre-condition for progress in resolving other issues in South West Africa. A communique said SWAPO also insisted that South Africa must respect Namibia's territorial integrity, including the Walvis Bay area which it said the Pretoria government had «provocatively and arrogantly annexed» on August 31st (by placing Walvis Bay under Pretoria direct administration). The SWAPO communique said if these demands connected with a negotiated settlement were not satisfied, SWAPO would have no other alternative but to continue its armed struggle.

Last year the 31st session of the General Assembly became as anticipated «Africa's Session». The issues of South Africa dominated the Assembly's ten-week deliberations. At the same time, attention was focussed on the Security Council's historic debate.

Opinions of the U.A. and assessments of what it has done since it was founded 32 years ago, vary from country to country and from person to person. There are those who see the Organi-

zation as a large debating society in which a majority of small economically and military insignificant states team up against the rest in open confrontation. Others view it as an Organization still dominated by a handful of nuclear warriors, by an

accident of history happen to possess the military and economic prowess might to exert political influence in the world today.

From one vantage perspective, the United Nations at 32 is

a great experiment; a huge laboratory where the instruments of international cooperation are still being employed in molding and integrating the national policies of nearly 150 sovereign States.

AL — HAMDI ASSASSINATED

Late President of Democratic Republic of Yemen
Ibrahim Mohamed Al-Hamdi.



Colonel Ibrahim Mohamed Al-hamdi, was assassinated in Sana'a on the 11th, October this year, three years and four months after he took power in a bloodless coup at the head of a military council. Hamdi's brother Lt. colonel Abdallah Al-hamdi died with him.

Col. Hamdi, 34, was credited with doing much for the progress and prosperity of his people and country. Following President Hamdi's untimely and shocking death, the Command Council at an emergency meeting appointed Chief-of-Staff Lieutenant Colonel Ahmed Al-Hashmi, head of a three-man Presidential Council.

Meanwhile .. the President

of the Somali Democratic Republic, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre sent a message of condolence to the chairman of the presidential council of the Yemen Arab Republic on the shocking assassination of Lt Col. Ibrahim Mohamed Al-hamdi, the former president of Y.A.R

The message read:

«On behalf of the government, people of the SDR and myself I am deeply grieved to extend our condolence on the shocking assassination of Ibrahim Mohamed Al-hamdi to you, the Government of the Yemen Arab Republic and to the family of the late president».

The SDR announced three days of mourning in the country in memory of the tragic assassination of president Al-hamdi. Also the Vice-president of the SDR Jaalle major general Hussein Kulmie Afrah attended the funeral ceremony of the late president.

In Mogadishu the SDR vice-president and assistant Secretary General Jaalle Brig. general Ismail Ali Abokor signed the Condolence Book for the late president opened at the Y.A.R Embassy. Jaalle Ismail wrote the following inscription on the Book; «We are deeply grieved by the criminal assassination of our brother the late president of the Y.A.R. Ibrahim Moba-

med. The Somali people share grievances with the people of the Y.A.R.» The SDR vice-president pointed out that this criminal assassination was evidently aimed at retarding the progress being achieved by the Y.A.R. people and expressed his confidence that the Government and people in that country will continue to pursue the progressive path charted by their late

leader.

In Aden, the South Yemeni government announced a 40 day mourning period for the leader of the neighbouring country and cancelled the celebration of South Yemen's 14th Revolutionary Anniversary. The Presidential Council and cabinet sent a statement to Y.A.R. people expressing great sorrow for the killings, termed «a dirty cons-

piracy carried out by treacherous and cruel hands». The murders were part of an «imperialist plan woven long ago to foil the struggle of the Yemeni people» the joint statement said. It praised Col Al-hamdi for taking a firm stand against any foreign interference or imperialism, and described his death as a great loss for the whole Yemeni people.

PRESS ROUND UP ON THE HORN OF AFRICA

«Abyssinian regimes' expansionist policy has created the present problem in the Horn of Africa», this was admitted by the international press.

Western Europe is well versed with the historical conditions of Africa as a result of their colonial experience. In particular, Britain, France and Italy know very well that the basis of the current problem in the «Horn» is the consistent pursuance of territorial expansion undertaken by intransigent Ethiopian regimes. As a rule truth exists objectively and is irrefutable, however its interpretation is to a large extent affected by the existing political conditions.

Africa has scored successive victories through its liberation struggles waged in the wake of the colonized nations. Colonial inefaceable and concerted strength of the oppressed nations through objective reconciliation with subject nation's historically attested supremacy.

The war raging in the Horn of Africa resulting from A-

byssinian colonialism is a revelation of a peoples determination to blow up the lid and emerge as a free nation.

The International press has been increasingly commenting on the affairs in the Horn of Africa: «Times of London» wrote; «Ethiopia's territorial expansion whose capital has moved southwards from Axum to Gondar and then to Addis Ababa over the past 2,000 years has helped create the present problem in the «Horn». Emperor Menelik II must have been responsible for the cause of the situation in the region. In 1891, Menelik sent a letter to European heads of state in Berlin Conference claiming such distant places as Khartoum Lake Victoria, the Western Somali and all the Somali Coast. Uniquely, Europe's partition plans had gone wrong in that Horn of Africa. For the first time, an African regime had a say in their adventure to colonize Africa» stressed the «Times of London».

James Johnson, British member of parliament advised recent

tly the Addis Ababa regime to reconcile with the wind of independence. The M.P. who participated in the 1954 British parliament discussion as a result of which the de-facto-border was demarcated and Somali territory allocated to Ethiopia, called on the military government to depart from pursuing colonialism. Mr. Johnson cited as an example the British Empire whose sun never set, which was a colonial power in Africa and elsewhere.

A British professor at Oxford University in an article to the Weekly Magazine «West Africa» gave a lengthy discussion on the situation in the Horn of Africa.

In his article, the professor pointed out that the problem in this regime stems from the Abyssinian occupation of Somali territory resulting from its expansion to the Red Sea coast «The current regime in Addis Ababa is bluntly attempting to pursue the same policy of the late Haile Sellasie; that is to cover-up the issue of the Somali territory it colonizes from the

attention of the world community so as to avoid embarrassment and controversy», the professor said, adding that this would mean that the regime is striving to dodge the authentic translation of the Italo-Abyssinian in ties of territorial division in 1897.

The New York Times correspondent sent to Jigjiga Mr. Richard Tomkin said that the only Abyssinian remnant we have seen following a 30 year abyssinian occupation were the destroyed military fortresses, tanks, ammunition and corpses of Ethiopian soldiers.

The newspapers that include Times, Guardian, Financial Times, Daily Telegraph New York Times and others have been increasingly commenting on the liberation of Jigjiga.

Mr. Lorenzo Marziali, an Italian who lived in Jigjiga since 1935 in an interview with newsmen from the ministry of Information and National Guidance had this to say; «the Somali people in Jigjiga lived under the worst colonialism anywhere and lead abject poverty under the Addis Ababa rule» adding that the Addis soldiers stationed in Jigjiga oppressed the somali inhabitants, killed them and used to rob them of their properties. Mr. Marziali who was a resident of the town for 42 years declared that he was himself an eye witness for many persons brutally put to death. «The barbarity of the Addis-troops forced many of the somalis to abandon their homeland» concluded Marziali.

THE EIGHT ANNIVERSARY OF THE 21st OCTOBER 1969 REVOLUTION OBSERVED

On the 24th of the current month a ceremony was held at the Soviet Cultural Centre in Mogadishu to commemorate the 8th Anniversary of the 21 October Revolution.

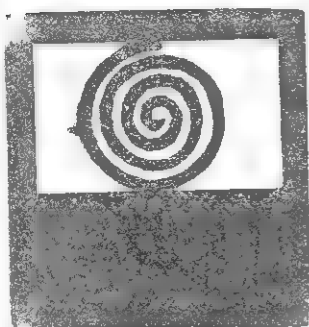
Present on this occasion were Jaalle Warsame Ali Farah, President of the Somali Friendship and cooperation Committee, and Vice-Chairman of the Foreign Bureau of the CC of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, and Jaalle Abdullahi Mohamed Hassan Vice-Chairman of the inspection Bureau of the SRSP and other party members.

Also present on this occasion were the Ambassadors of the socialist countries in Somali Democratic Republic.

Speaking at this occasion, Jaalle Abdullahi Mohamed Hassan expressed thanks to the Soviet Embassy for holding this ceremony honoring the 8th Anniversary of the Somali Revolution. He emphasised that with the advent of the Revolution in 1969, the Somali people's struggle entered a new and higher stage. The Somali people were undergone deep transformation in its socio-political and economic life. In addition to this, the Revolution has from its very start abided by its pledge to extend full support to all the national liberation Movements in Africa Asia and Latin America. True to its socialist principles, the

Somali Revolution solidarizes with the legitimate struggle of the peoples of Somali West, Abbo people, and the Eritreans for their independence and self-determination. Speaking about the friendly relations between Somali and the Soviet Union Jaalle Abdullahi said that it has reached its Zenith after the inception of the Revolution in 1969. The cooperation between Somalia and the Soviet Union has greatly benefitted the Somali people.

The Ambassador of the Soviet Union, Jaalle G. Samsanov also spoke at this ceremony. He expressed his appreciation of the October 1969, - Revolution. The Ambassador affirmed that although 8 years is but a short period, nevertheless the Somali people under the guidance of the Revolutionary leadership made remarkable strides forward. Consequent to the Revolution the relationship between Somalia and the Socialist countries was consolidated particularly with the Soviet Union. The Somali Democratic Republic, he said, displayed its unequivocal opposition and struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and Zionism. Finally, the Ambassador concluded his speech by best wishes to the Somali people and the realization of more success in the service of peace and social progress.



THEORETICAL ISSUES

Reflection on the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution

By: OMAR SALAD

Member of CC of SRSP

A Ceremony for the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of Great October Revolution was held at the Soviet Cultural Centre. On the occasion, Jaalle Omar Salad Elmi Chairman of the organisation Buthe CC of SRSP and member of the CC of SRSP delivered the following commemorative address:

«On behalf of the CC of the SRSP, allow me to convey to you warm greetings and congratulations on the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

Today, all the progressives of the world are celebrating the 60th Anniversary of the great October socialist revolution which was the first of its kind in the world. In celebrating this occasion two general objectives come to mind. The first is the need to investigate and evaluate the significance of the October Revolution as those which came after it. The Second objective is provided by the need to unite all progressive forces and Liberation Fronts so as to abolish the capitalist system, world imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism racism and zionism. The historic world-wide victories, following the birth of the Great October Socialist Revolution can not be adequately, summarised in this speech they need deep investigation and analysis.

Nevertheless, today it is clear to most of the people that the Great October Revolution has brought about tremendous transformations in the world.

We all know that the Great October Socialist Revolution has opened up a new page in man's history a page marking the opening of the road to socialism.

As soon as the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, spearheaded by the Communist Party under the leadership of V.I. Lenin, the inside enemies waged bitter struggles to destroy the newly born Revolution. But all such attempts failed and all the reactionaries were ultimately defeated, because the Revolution had a popular mass base. It aimed at eliminating all forms of exploitation heaped upon the masses for centuries. Lenin's theory and practice provided another major reason for the success of the Revolution.

Following the victory of the Revolution against all anti-revolutionaries embarked on the difficult task of constructing the basis for a new socialist society; in all such under taking, they succeeded tremendously. Within a short period of time, the Soviet people abolished all sorts of exploitative relations and created a powerful socialist

society on the basis of liberty, justice and equality.

Then came the Great victory against fascism, led by the Soviet Union. Progressive forces all over the world rallied around the front against fascism and Nazism. Following the defeat of fascism, socialism spread to several other countries thereby emerging as a decisive force in the world.

The Great October Socialist Revolution contributed to the rest of the world ever lasting experience. It enabled mankind to find solutions to a number of important problems that confronted human societies for ages. Among the most important contributions to mankind is the solution to the problem of national self-determination. Therefore, for the first time in history, it became possible to establish a society on the basis of national self-determination and the equality of nationalities.

The existence of the world socialist system implies that the working classes still suffering under capitalist exploitation is able to obtain moral and material assistance, thereby, bringing about a situation in which day by day millions of people are joining the progressive forces in demanding their mental and physical liberation.

If I turn to the question of national Liberation Movements, the colonised people found in the socialist countries a major force of support for their struggles. The support given by the socialist forces to the struggles of the colonised people brought about the speedy destruction of the colonial system and the birth of a new world system.

Immediately following the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Soviet Government proclaimed a law, which had been carefully prepared by the founder of the Soviet State, Comrade V.I. Lenin concerning the national rights established the principle of self-determination and equality for all the nations that were colonised under the Russian Empire; that every nation has the right to exercise its right of self-determination that this includes the right to secede from the Soviet Union if it so chooses, and the elimination of all forms of privileges and discriminations based upon race, nationality culture or religion. This matter is incorporated in article 69 of the Soviet Union constitution which states that the Soviet Union is a federal State consisting of many nation based on the principle that every nation has the right to determine whether it wishes to be an equal part of the Soviet Socialist State. Article 71 of the same constitution states that «Each Republic of the Union has the free right to secede from the Soviet Union. Such steps taken by the Soviet Union are correct and in complete agreement with the principles of scientific socialism as laid down by Marx, Engels and Lenin. These principles are widely spread in the thinking of the contemporary epoch, they also constitute a great weapon of

the progressive forces struggling for freedom, democracy, peace and social progress.

The Somali nation, being part and parcel of the peoples of the world fighting for freedom, democracy and social progress, has taken many lessons from the Great October Socialist Revolution.

As soon as Somalia attained independence, relations of friendship and cooperation between her and the Soviet Union were established and developed as the years went by. The Somali October 21st 1969 Revolution strengthened the relations and re-established them on a qualitatively new basis. These relations became more visible in economic, cultural and special affairs.

After the birth of the 21st October Revolution in 1969, the Somali Revolutionary Government declared policy which is against imperialism, colonialism neo-colonialism and zionism and for supporting the people fighting for their national independence and self-determination.

Our Revolution not only declared so but implemented this policy in reality such a policy is based on scientific socialism and on the experience of the construction of socialism all over the world.

Accordingly, the whole Somali nation fully supports the liberation fronts of Western Somali & Eritrea who are struggling for their self-determination and the right to secede from the Ethiopian colonial regime which is claiming to be a «Socialist State».

How can such a regime claim to

be socialist when it denies the right of people of Western Somalis and Eritrea who have liberated more than 95% of their territories. Is it practical or scientific to deny such realities? The Addis-ababa regime states that the victories of the liberation movements are temporary and reactionary regime hopes and plans to re-occupy liberated territories. but these are only hopes and dreams. There is no force in the world that can check the right to struggle of the peoples fighting to free themselves from colonialism. There might be difficulties and the struggle may take a longer time, but the victory will always be in the hands of the liberation fronts in Western Somalia Eritrea, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Palestine and so on.

At this occasion, this commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October socialist Revolution, let me call upon all progressive forces and peace loving peoples of the world to support the genuine liberation struggles of Western Somalia and Eritrea. That is the only way to establish long lasting peace in the Horn of Africa.

CULTURE AND ART



The Somali Language

By: IBRAHIM AHMED (Kholi)

«That a child goes
to school at the age of four
and learns it in Somali.
was unknown to us before;
the credit belongs
to the promoters of this idea,
to our father, Siad,
and to the almighty God».

This song is taught at the kindergarten. I picked it from my daughter Daika who is still less than four years. This verse shows that little Daika and the flowers of the Revolution know that Somali language was not written before and that they are Luckier than their parents.

There is no doubt that this song will outline both Daika's generation and the generation after it. People will ask one another, «This song indicates the period that immediately after writing the Somali Language, when was it?»

Unless a natural or a man-made catastrophe brings today human progress to an end, and destroys all historical records, certainly 21st October 1972 — the date on which the script for the Somali language was officially proclaimed will be remembered. This proclamation had realized the aspiration of the Somali people who loved to see the day when their language would be written. I was told of a



Somali girls with traditional costume learning the Somali Script.

story when a Somali man, full of units and humour, went to the United States in early 1960. He had a chat with an American. Their dialogue ran roughly as follows:

American: What language do you speak there?

Somali: «Somali language»

American: «Nice could you show me how to write it?

Somali «Sorry it is not written yet!

American: «How is it that a nation has no written language?

Somali: «Our language will surely get written sooner or later. But since my arrival here I was being asked «do you speak English», and no one had ever asked me if I knew American.

Thus, the Somali man had won the agreement with politeness and humour over his host. In effect he suggested that he who has a language stands for a chance to get it written one day, but that he who has no language is in a state of despair. And this chance and hope for writing the Somali language presented itself ten years after this dialogue. On 21st October 1977,



No one is too old to learn.

the supreme Revolutionary Council had announced a script for the Somali language, thus implementing point of the first Charter of the Revolution.

After this introductory story, would wish to pass on to the benefits of writing the language. It is not visible to cover all the benefits in one article. However we can discuss the following three points each in one issue of the magazine.

1. Mutual understanding;
2. Expanding Education and language growth;
3. Historical and cultural documentation.

Is a fundamental basis for social permanent social harmony. As the Somali saying goes: «Only when the forerunners agree among themselves, can the livestock be watered». Once people fail to understand one another, they cannot agree and; If they can not agree

then they can not discuss their interests, and if they can not discuss their interest, then they can not unite; and if they can not unite, then they can achieve much. So from mutual understanding down to acting in unison, it is a chain which, if cut at one spot will get disconnected and will fall apart. Before our language was written, there was little mutual understanding very few people knew how to read and write; and those who were literate knew three different foreign languages English, Italian and Arabic. A language is not a chain of mere words; it embraces a whole culture complete with its customs and traditions affecting one's education, one's behaviour and one's way of thinking. As a result of this those few of us who were educated had failed to understand one another as each group received the other with contempt and could hear.

Each group was inter-linked to a certain extent, with the country whose language it knew, knowing-

ly or unknowingly. It also served the interests of that country whose it had received. The disunity, which is brought about by the variety of the different cultures, was one more factor in the list of division factors such as tribalism, regionalism and egoism. This is the type of disunity which held the few educated groups poles apart.

Now let us examine the relations between the government and people. Obviously, they are not like two persons who are connected by the mass-media. With the exception of the audience of the Somali service of the radio (and it is easy to forget what one hears over the radio) The mass-media was limited to few newspapers and publications in these three foreign languages. The total daily circulation of these publications was not more 3000. It is also important to note here that the Somali service of the Radios prepared all their paper-works in these three languages. This meant that what seemed to be a Somali language while on our was a foreign mentality translated sometime poorly - into Somali. Suppose an English speaking Minister wants to talk to his electorate over the Radio. First he prepares his speech in English embracing English way of thinking and he reads in Somali; then the newsreporter takes notes, perhaps, in Italian and runs to the Radio; but as the newscaster happens to be an Arabic speaking, the newsreporter is bound to give him a verbal translation of his scribbled notes; then the newscaster jots them down in Arabic only to be translated into Somali at a glance while in the studio. In such a criss-crossing process of translations, it is doubtless that the net result of the message will fall far short of its original intent. And

when such a garbled message reaches the illiterate in the remote countryside, there is no way of knowing the feed-back.

Since all communications to the Radio and press had to be in one of these three foreign languages, the illiterate masses had been denied of the opportunity to talk to the Government. For this reason, the communication necessarily remained one-way all the time.

The situation being so, can't we say: «The parties used to talk to one another but they rarely if at all, understood one another. Realistically, a mutual understanding can come where there is a dialogue: a two way communication. But if one party speaks and the other is gagged successfully, there is little way the speaker can tell whether the listener really understood the message fully.

Tracing this back into the past history must necessarily lead us to the question: «To what extent does the writing of the Somali Language contribute to bring better understanding among the society in all fields».

First of all, as soon as the three foreign languages were replaced by our own mother-tongue, all the groups with cultural divergencies had been deprived of the bone of contention; the mother-tongue made them meet; even though no

group was still wholly free from the influence of its old alien culture. Despite of this, it was important that these groups had a unifying medium of written-language, through which they could communicate among themselves and with the newly literate masses. This naturally bridged the wide rift between these educated groups, specially between the educated youth who previously lived in isolation from one another due to the legacy of their respective culture backgrounds.

In regard to the new relationship between the revolutionary government and the masses. Since the adoption of the Somali script, we can note that the mass-media—both the Radio and the press—is directly using the Somali language without the hectic process of criss-crossing translations and retranslation; though some written who have been over-whelmed by foreign cultures, may still think in a foreign language and then put the translation in Somali, yet one can safely say that mutual understanding has greatly improved since then. It is worth to mention here that the literacy campaign has enormously increased the number of literates. The circulation of the publications is growing and the daily sale is roughly 15000 copies. Certainly, people, mothers, workers, farmers and nomads, now know no foreign languages. From this we can understand that not only has the number of the readership changed, but the type of the readership has also changed. Today, more directly than before, the or-

dinary people listen to and read Government decisions and directives concerning their interests and their welfare. This implemented the role of the mass-media in the field of information and education. To ensure a permanent and direct links between the government and the masses in order to secure mass participation in the nation-building and administration is one of basic pillars of the socialist principles. This will also enable the masses to express their feelings in writing so that the government can have the feed-back which is essential for a two-way communications. Thus, the writing of the Somali language has opened a page for a dialogue between the government and the people. This in turn leads us to better understanding which was missing prior to the revolution or to be more correct, prior to the writing of our language. We can say that now the fore-runners have reconciled their differences and that, consequently, the flock has drunk peacefully; this better understanding has contributed to the national unity which has helped our nation to stand in the face of the challenges of both the nature and the enemy. This unity also helped the Somali people to unite their mind and muscles in order to build their country through self-reliance and with the help of their funds.

How far does writing the language benefitted the expansion of education and preserving history and culture, will be discussed in the next issue.



ON THE SOMALI CULTURAL UNITY

by: Rashid Sh. Abdullahi

The origins of the word «Somali» go far back into the past. The exact etymology of the word is not known. All we know is that in the course of historical development, a word called «the Somalis» came to appear. Obviously, the phenomenon of a people with a common culture, language, economy and social order gave rise to a common denomination. Historians from other countries encountered the people called «Somalis» and recorded so, thousands of years ago.

During the long period of history, the Somali people developed not only objectively but subjectively. In other words, a people with a common language, culture, religion, social system and pastoral economy came to exist on the eastern part of the Horn of Africa. What is more, in the course of their struggles against nature and against other human groups, these people came to develop full consciousness of being Somali. Objectively, they themselves were highly conscious and proud of their identity as Somalis. The cultural unity of Somalis is highly reflected in the traditional literary heritage of our people.

Imperialism led to the scramble for Africa which led to the partition and colonisation of the Somali nation. European colonialism helped add Western Somalia to the «Ethiopian Empire», and the Ethiopian regimes tried hard to fix the label «Ethiopian» to the people of Western Somalia. The peo-

ple in the Ethiopian occupied territory could not and would not accept the label «Ethiopian». They knew they were Somalis with a proud tradition of resistance against colonialists including Ethiopians.

The cultural unity of the Somali people is best reflected in the literary traditions preserved in our language. The poems, songs, riddles, proverbs, even children games, of the Somali people everywhere are more or less the same. Moreover, they are all inspired by the great Somali poets such as Rageh Ugas, Gammagan Bulhan, Ali Dhuh, Salan Arrabey, Abdi Gahayr and other. Most of these poets lived and travelled in most of the territories inhabited by the Somali people, including the areas recently liberated by the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF).

Sayid Mohamed Abdillahi Hassan offers a brilliant example of a major historical figure and brilliant poet. In waging his 20 years struggles against British, Italian and Ethiopian colonialism, the Sayid was able to unite the Somali people and provide them with living traditions of common struggles. In his brilliant poetry, he left a strong literary inheritance: his poems are still recited everywhere in the newly liberated territories as well as in most parts of the SDR.

The same phenomenon is being observed with regards to the epoch

of Somali nationalist parties. The songs and campaign slogans of the SYL and the SNL are vividly remembered everywhere Somalis live. The nationalist songs include: «Wake up all you Somalis!; and «Oh, my Country» etc. The nationalist songs of Barkhad As and Walaalo Hargeisa developed and spread at the same time as the poems of Abdillahi Suldan, Timoadde, Ali Hussein and others whose poems were often recited in Jigjiga, Dhagahbur, Qabridahare and the other towns where Ethiopian colonialists actively sought to erase the Somali identity.

The cultural unity of the Somali people is invincible. All attempts to destroy it have only produced vigorous resistance which, as reflected in literature and arts, has only contributed towards strengthening that consciousness of a common identity. Let us end these brief reflections on our cultural unity by quoting a relevant contemporary poem called «Gallaaddi» by Ahmed Abdi Sugulle:-

— If an animal could not get enough water during a hot summer,

— if it is brought to a good well with ready water;

— It can never be contented but remembers the bygone days;

— In the morning walk a lion in an ambush kills him;

— The same applies to the Amhara who are under the veil;

— Those who carry their shrine
would never wait;

— The powerful infidel has colonised
the people;

— He who does not bring the
hump of a camel is put to jail;

— If sheep are not slaughtered for
them they become hot-tempered;

— When sacks of ration are brought
to the interior;

— Without opening it the men are
slaughtered;

— Those who grew up colonising
are being slaughtered everywhere
today;

— The able liberation Fronts make
good targets of them;

— In every battle they lose thousands
and more;

— The granted weapons cut off
their heads;

— Like the locusts, the liberation
men kill groups of them in every
front;

— They fled bullets all bare-footed;

— Let the poem not drag on, so I
conclude;

— Oh! the repressive regime, you
have brought all the brutal mischief;

— You have brought the slaughter
we witness today;

— You have entered a ditch of
blood and a narrow gorge;

— The multitudinous army achieved
nothing for you;

— Your numerous commandos
have vanished;

— Their corpses will be eaten by
insects;

— Before the war you used to
boast;

— You claimed courage in the light
of peace;

— You are not more than the hats
you wear;

— Whenever you get the upper
hand you boast;

— The words of Allah and his
law strengthen us;

— As long as the enemy lingers at
the corner, I dare not eat;

— The blood flowing on your
thighs is due to our bravery and
high virtues;

— As long as you colonise a spot
of our land;

— Or you do not return back the
looted possessions;

— As long as a cup of water remains
you will regret;

— The charge of human beings is
like an electric shock on your body;

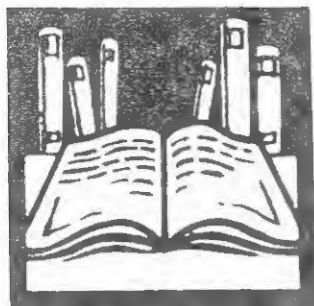
— The British, more powerful
than you have been sent out;

— The Italians moved away at
dusk;

— Your power once strong is now
upside down;

— While you were looting our
camels, our livelihood;

— You did not reckon that your
doom today will be the consequence.



BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS

HALGAN ON HALGAN

The First Issue of HALGAN appeared on October 21st 1976 to mark the Seventh Anniversary of the October Revolution. HALGAN, official organ of CC of the SRSP, appeared four months after the establishment of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party.

During the past year, HALGAN has sought to convey Party policies and decisions, it has also sought to interpret, explain and analyse such policies and various measures connected with them.

A REVIEW OF CONTENTS

HALGAN has carried a number of editorials intended to focus on the important statements made by Jaalle Mahamed Siad Bare, Secretary - General of the CC of the SRSP and President of the SDR. Various editorials dwelt on the burning issues of the Horn of Africa, on our Foreign relations and on other critical international issues such as: Southern Africa and the Middle East.

The lack of specialised research journals in Somalia, imposed upon HALGAN the need to issue relatively long analytical articles on various aspects of Somali life.

A number of these analysed the historical background behind the formation of the SRSP. The current tasks and activities of the SRSP and the formation of the social organizations were given maximum coverage. The February 1977 issue was specially devoted to covering the 3rd Plenary Session of the CC of the SRSP. During this important session, various, resolutions were passed, including the one calling for the reorganization of Somali social organizations. The HALGAN issue of April 1977 covered the founding Congress of the Somali Women's Democratic Organization; that of May 1977 covered the establishment of the General Confederation of Somali Tra-

de Unions, and that of June 1977 carries articles and reports pertaining to the Somali Revolutionary Youth Union. In this way HALGAN helped to contribute towards the consolidation of the SRSP and the social organizations.

HALGAN has published several articles on economic aspects of Somali society, for example: reviewing the socio-economic achievements of the Revolution, discussing the relationship between the Party and 'Planning' and critically assessing Somalia's state economic sector.

In the past year, HALGAN has also published serious articles on South Africa, the Middle East, Jibouti and Western Somalia. These and other articles have been complimented by brief coverage of news in the MONTHLY BULLETIN section.

On Theoretical Issues, HALGAN has published articles on various aspects of Party norms and functions, on just and unjust wars, on Lenin's ideological heritage and on self-determination and territorial integrity. In the Section entitled *Art and Culture*, HALGAN has, during the past year, published articles analysing various aspects of Somali literature — plays, poetry, songs etc. HALGAN has devoted considerable attention to Festac, 77: The 2nd World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture. In the December 1976 issue distributed widely during the Festac events in Lagos, HALGAN proudly reproduced the late Amilcar Cabral's seminal essay on «The role of culture in the» struggle for independence».

ON Developing the Somali Language

During the past year, HALGAN has appeared monthly in Somali and English. An Arabic language edition of HALGAN has appeared once every three months. Technical limitations have not permitted us to issue a monthly Arabic edition.

The Somali edition of HALGAN has contributed to the development of the Somali language. Articles written in Arabic, English etc dealing with philosophical or technical issues have had to be translated in rea-

dable Somali. In this way, a good number of recently coined technical and other specialized vocabulary in Somali has been given a popular medium. The *Political Vocabulary* section of HALGAN has been particularly useful in this regard.

HALGAN'S UTILITY

We have had a great deal of opportunity during the past year to witness the various ways various groups have used HALGAN. Various seminars, classes and discussion groups conducted by the Party and the socio-organizations have utilized various articles from HALGAN. University students have found in it useful material for further research. Some officials use it for reference on account of the important policy documents it publishes. The mass media have used its articles in order to prepare various radio programmes; SONNA circulates some of HALGAN editorials, etc.

Somali delegations attending various conferences abroad have found it extremely useful to take with them various issues of HALGAN. The December 1976 Issue was particularly useful for the Somali participant at the Lagos Festac 77 colloquium; delegates from the Somali social organization have, likewise, profitted from the issues of HALGAN devoted to their respective organizations. A great deal of written materials in Somalia today exists only in the Somali language; accordingly HALGAN offers a welcome channel of communications with our friends all over the world.

There is no doubt that HALGAN will prove to be even more useful in future as it improves itself through experience and as it succeeds in overcoming staffing, technical and distribution problems.

On Personnel, Technical and Distribution Problems.

The Somali Democratic Republic is still a developing nation that has yet to overcome serious problems inherited from the past. Among such problems we may list the shortage of skilled manpower, technical deficiencies and the resulting distribution problems as particularly pertinent when it comes to the publishing of a journal such as HALGAN.

When HALGAN first appeared and for a considerable time after that, it utilized part-time manpower drawn from various sources and coordinated through the ideological Bureau of the CC of the SRSP.

Technical problems are mainly connected with printing. The State Printing Agency is an extremely over-crowded center printing everything from posters, receiptbooks all the way to school text-books, magazines, pamphlets and daily newspapers. Accordingly,

HALGAN has experienced long periods of delays on account of printing and binding difficulties. The Manager and Staff of the Agency have tried their best to meet our needs: obviously problem goes beyond their means.

HALGAN has initiated explorations aimed at establishing printing facilities for the specialized needs of the Party and its social organization. Negotiations with concerned units in the German Democratic Republic are proceeding with the aim of solving bottlenecks.

The lack of a full-time staff and given the generally inadequate infrastructure, have contributed to the problems of distribution. Like most developing nations, the radio is the most effective means of mass communications in Somalia. The nation-wide distribution of newspapers and magazines is highly inadequate.

HALGAN analyzed the problems involved and, following months of experience, has worked out the logistics for solving the obstacles. The implementation of HALGAN's distribution plan awaits adequate manpower, office arrangements and other related matters. The plan hopes to utilize the structures of the Party and social organizations, particularly those recently established in all the regions and districts of the SDR.

The immediate tasks of HALGAN is indeed to solve the problem of distribution both inside and outside the country. Many people have complained about the poor distribution of HALGAN especially outside the capital city of Mogadishu.

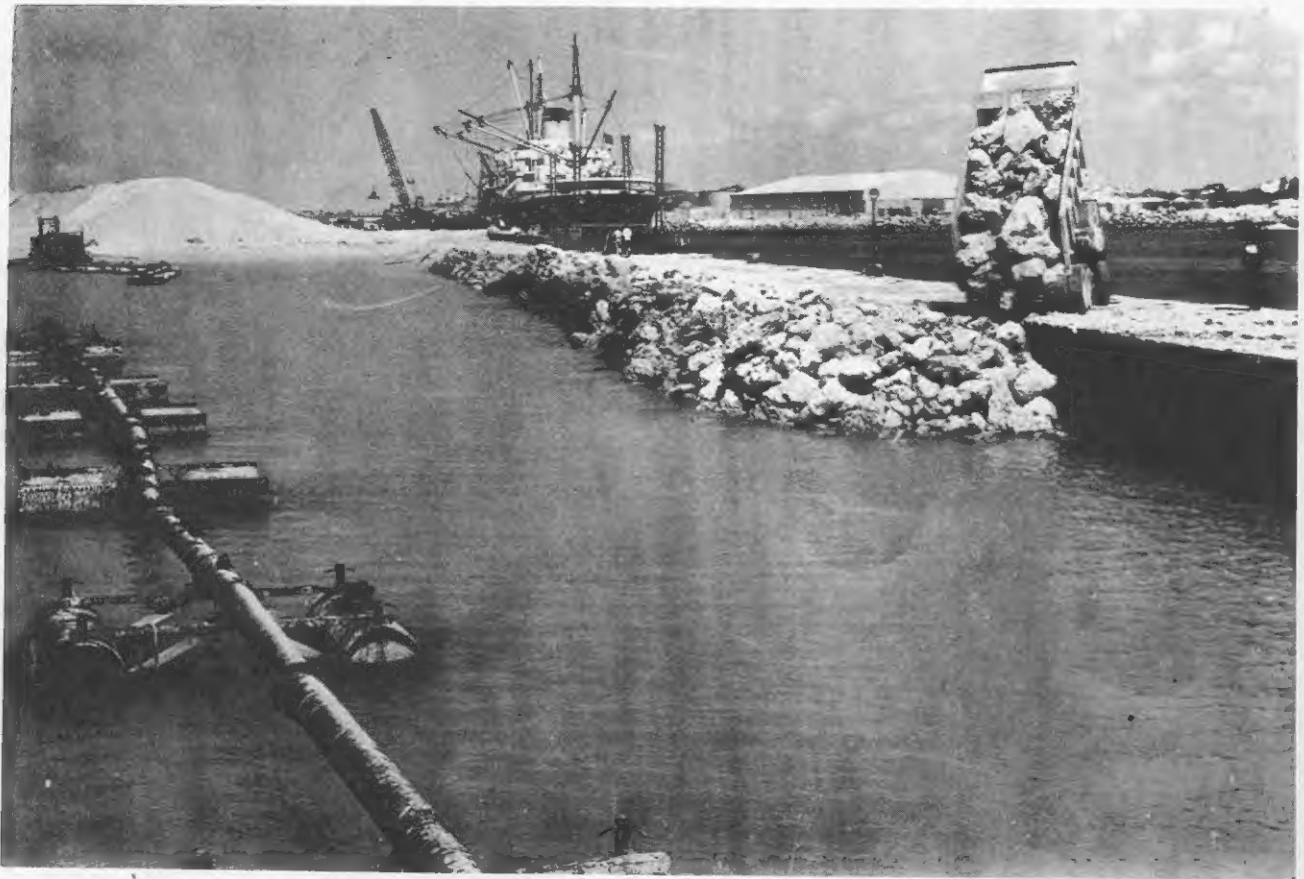
An Appeal

HALGAN wishes to thank all those who have, in one way or another, contributed to its existence during the past year.

At the same time, it wishes to appeal for greater support in the future. HALGAN especially welcomes all constructive criticism. It wishes to improve itself constantly both in form and content; the constructive suggestions of our readers help the development of HALGAN.

Incidentally, in order to initiate a dialogue with its readers, HALGAN has carried various features, such as *Problems of Daily Life*, which are extremely topical.

We appeal to our readers to contribute in any way they can in the common effort to make HALGAN a better organ, a better medium of the struggle against underdevelopment, the struggle for freedom, peace and social progress.



The Mogadisho new port is a major economic project.



HALGAN issues of the past year